

NEW MASSES

FEBRUARY 1, 1938

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

New Hope for the New Deal

by

Marguerite Young

Behind the French Crisis

by

Gabriel Péri

Inside Japan in Wartime

The Diary of a Foreign Resident

The Disintegration of Mr. Stolberg

By Robert Forsythe

Rex Warner, Novelist and Poet A Review by Samuel Sillen

Drawings and Cartoons by Fred Ellis, Anton Refregier, Ned Hilton, and others

BETWEEN OURSELVES

THE third monthly literary section will appear in our issue of next week. An experiment is being made in this issue, of publishing a story of unusual length. "From a Japanese Prison," is fifteen thousand words long. Written by the foremost proletarian writer of Japan, Kensaku Shinaki, it is part of a larger work which has enjoyed a sensational success in Japan, running through more than twenty editions in as many months. The story was mutilated by the censor before it was allowed publication in Japan, but the censored passages have been restored, and an excellent translation made by George Furiya, young American-born Japanese, who has forwarded it to us from Tokyo. We believe the readers of the literary section will agree with the editors that particularly at this time, when world interest in the Far East is so intense, a story such as "From a Japanese Prison" is worth the great proportion of space it will occupy in the section.

Among the other contents will be an unusual short story by Edward G. Wall, entitled "Words I Did Not Speak"; and sections from the many expressions by poets and readers of poetry in the current discussion on "Is Poetry Dead?" including Genevieve Taggard, David Wolff; and poems by William Rose Benet and H. H. Lewis.

Judging by the demand for tickets for our night of music on February 6, it appears, at this writing, that we will be completely sold out long before the concert. Readers who have not yet made reservations are urged to do so at once. There are still a limited number of good seats available. And while you're making those reservations, don't forget that we have also arranged a theater party for Marc Blitzstein's brilliant satiric operetta, *The Cradle Will Rock*. This is one Broadway production you cannot afford to miss. The date—Wednesday evening, February 9.

Our third theater party of the season takes place on Friday, February 25. The play is Francis Edwards Faragoh's I.L.G.W.U. prize-winner, *Sunup to Sundown*, a simple, moving tale of children in the tobacco fields of the South. Those who have been privileged to see previews inform us that it easily ranks with the season's best left-wing offerings. Florence McGee and Walter N. Geaza head the cast. Staging is by Joseph Losey, who directed *Triple A Plowed Under*.

What's What

THE article by Barrie Stavis in our issue of January 4, 1938, reporting his interview with Anton Mussert, leading fascist of Holland, has created a sensation in that country and put Mussert into an extremely uncomfortable position. Mussert evidently did not reckon on his own countrymen reading his frank statement of a fascist program for Holland. *De Groene Amsterdammer* published the article, however, and it was quoted from and commented on by practi-

cally every paper in the country. *Het Volk*, the Communist paper, in reprinting the article, demanded in big black type: "Mussert, why don't you answer?"

Mussert finally issued a statement in which he evaded the issue as to whether he had been correctly quoted, but said he had understood the interview would appear only in America.

Stavis, in a reply to Mussert, which was also widely printed, holds the would-be Führer to the main issue—his statements in the interview that he intended to align Holland with Germany in a war, relieve unemployment by a vast armament program, destroy Holland's liberal monarchy and replace it with a fascist government modeled after Germany, and that he favors an anti-Semitic program similar to Hitler's, which he would apply to all minority groups. Mussert has as yet not replied.

Watch for the following articles in early issues: 1. Another article by Bruce Minton on the development of labor-party movements in the Pennsylvania steel areas. 2. An exclusive interview with Mao Tse-tung, China's foremost Communist leader, as given to James Bertram, the only foreign correspondent to cover the seizure of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian, and author

of *First Act in China*. Mao discusses the success with which the Eighth Route Army has opposed the Japanese in North China.

Among recent requests to include NEW MASSES material in anthologies are the following:

From Edward J. O'Brien, editor of a yearly anthology called *The Best Short Stories*, a request to reprint "She Always Wanted Shoes," by Don Ludlow (issue of September 14, 1937).

From Lillian Barnard Gilkes, who is editing an anthology of short stories of an anti-fascist and progressive trend, a request for "The Bullfighter," by Prudencio de Pereda (March 16, 1937) and "The Company," by Thomas Wolfe (Literary Section, January 11, 1938).

From Alan F. Pater, editor of the 1937 *Anthology of Magazine Verse & Year Book of American Poetry* a request for "Three Years," by Maxwell Bodenheim (October 27, 1936), "Winter Landscape," by William Stephens, and "Intellectual to Worker," by Sidney Alexander, both from the issue of February 16, 1937.

Ted Allan, whose short story, "A Gun Is Watered," appeared in the literary section of January 11, writes that a well-known literary agent was impressed with the story and has of-

fered to get Allan a contract for a book.

The reference in Joshua Kunitz's article, "Guilty as Charged!" (issue of January 18) to an American engineer who brought to the NEW MASSES a wealth of material on wrecking in the Soviet Union has aroused much interest—and also caused some misunderstanding. An impression was created in some that this material had been rejected by the editors. This is not the case. The engineer, who spent eight years in the Soviet Union and had extensive experience with saboteurs and wreckers, is now at work with a collaborator preparing his material for publication.

Samuel Sillen, an editor of the NEW MASSES, will interview Muriel Rukeyser over New York's station, WNYC, on Wednesday, February 2, at 2 p.m. Miss Rukeyser will also read selections from her new volume of poems, *U.S.I.*, just published by Covici-Friede. The volume contains "Mediterranean" and other poems which first appeared in the NEW MASSES.

Who's Who

MARGUERITE YOUNG was Washington correspondent for the Associated Press and later for the *Daily Worker*. She is at present working on a book covering the Washington scene. . . . Bruce Minton's article is the first of several on the labor situation in the mining, rubber, and textile areas, written from first-hand information. He is the author, with John Stuart, of *Men Who Lead Labor*, a Modern Age publication. . . . Gabriel Péri was reelected to the Central Committee of the French Communist Party at its recently concluded ninth National Congress. He is associate editor of *l'Humanité*, and the Communist spokesman on world affairs in the French Chamber of Deputies. . . . Obed Brooks has frequently contributed reviews to the NEW MASSES and other publications. . . . Grace Hutchins is on the staff of Labor Research Association. She is the author of *Women Who Work* and other pamphlets. . . . Thomas Coburn is a professor of political sciences at an eastern university.

Flashbacks

STEP by step, the longest march
Can be won, can be won;
Single stones will form an arch
One by one, one by one.

And by union, what we will,
Can be all accomplished still,
Drops of water turn a mill,
Singly none, singly none.

Thus read the introduction to the constitution of this country's first national miners' union, the American Miners' Association, formed at St. Louis, January 28, 1861. . . . Tom Paine, leading agitator and propagandist of the American and French revolutions, was born January 29, 1737, in Thetford, Norwich, England.

THIS WEEK

VOLUME XXVI, NO. 6

February 1, 1938

New Hope for the New Deal by Marguerite Young	3
A Report on C.I.O. in Steel by Bruce Minton	7
Rooms and Beds A Poem by James Neugass	9
Editorial Comment	10
The Disintegration of Mr. Stolberg by Robert Forsythe	14
Behind the French Crisis by Gabriel Péri	15
Inside Japan in Wartime From a Diary of a Foreign Resident	17
A Slide Rule on Poetry by Robert Zachs	19
Readers' Forum	20

BOOK REVIEWS

In Quest of Freedom by Samuel Sillen	21
The Meaning of Meanings by Obed Brooks	22
Biography of Business by Granville Hicks	23
Wage Theories and Fascism by Grace Hutchins	24
Marxist Critique of Society's Forces by Thomas Coburn	26
Brief Reviews	27

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

The Federal Theatre Treats Slum-Clearance by Walter Ralston	28
An Anti-Fascist Newsreel by Peter Ellis	29
Social Intentions and Good Painting by Elizabeth Noble	30
Forthcoming Broadcasts	31

Art work by Ad Reinhardt, Robert Joyce, Ned Hilton, Fred Ellis, Tromka, Anton Refregier, John Heliker, T. Sachoff, Dan Rico, Thompson M. Funk, Charles Martin, Soriano, Ruth Gikow, Tschachbasov.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 31 East 27th Street, New York City. Copyright, 1938, WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies, 15 cents. Subscription Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies, 15 cents. Foreign: \$4.50 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months \$2.50; three months \$1.25; Foreign: \$5.50 a year; six months \$3; three months \$1.50. In Canada, \$5 a year, \$2.75 for six months. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. The NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped and self-addressed envelope.



NEW MASSES

FEBRUARY 1, 1938



New Hope for the New Deal

By Marguerite Young

WASHINGTON.

IT is remarkable but not surprising how certain newspapers tuck into their accounts of royalists Lamont, Weir, and Girdler's new tenderness toward the President a note of reciprocation suggesting a second honeymoon—with Roosevelt pictured as cautiously surrendering to the embrace amidst a lot of coy talk about monopoly.

Actually the situation here is more favorable to progressive reform—within candidly clarified limits—than any I have seen in a decade of watching Washington. Here are some major aspects of the situation:

1. The force of the reactionary political offensive has broken against the combination of a recession which the Tories deliberately aggravated, cumulative defeats at the polls, and the lessened dependability of the Supreme Court. 2. Roosevelt is receiving a stream of realistic analysis, advice, and demands both from his own counselors and from liberal and labor supporters beyond the Potomac. 3. The administration seems well set toward pushing along with its program, bringing forward both items that will pass in this session of Congress and some that may await expected 1938 replacements of obstructors; with this in mind, some New Dealers actually are asking progressive outsiders what they can do to extend the franchise to southern mass followers of the New Deal, now voteless by reason of poll taxes.

4. Forward-looking legislators are moving steadily toward unity for a program and leader, to give independent support to Roosevelt. 5. The last factor is enhanced by increasing political alertness and effectiveness, both here and in the country generally, of such forces as Labor's Non-Partisan League. Policy flows as usual out of actual economic and political events.

First, the economic. Despite optimistic observations by some people, Roosevelt is hearing repeatedly and emphatically—and business and labor leaders know, too—that the current flurry in production is deceptive. The recession's roots are stout. There was the curtailment, under the reactionaries' attack, of even the inadequate government spending. Then on top of that, what Roosevelt called the "selfish suspension of capital" for political objectives. One administration economist, back in the councils with added prestige because he stubbornly kept foretelling the recession, sizes things up about this way: the lift in production may continue, but unemployment will increase. The current upturn is just the inevitable rebound from the business index's long slide from 117 to 78, with some raw materials sinking below 1934 levels. But remember that the two million increase in the unemployed between Labor Day and Christmas was a contra-seasonal one—and that we are about due for a

seasonal rise of one million or so. The best you can expect on the present basis is a slight, temporary nibbling at the total. There's just one economic answer: work—and *enough* work—for the unemployed, and safeguards to keep up the buying power of the privately employed and farm people.

Politically, the administration has the offensive and evidently means to keep it. It has just about completely reversed the situation that existed in the special session of Congress. At that time the *Washington Post* set forth the die-hard determination to drive straight ahead against labor and liberal legislation. The *Post* pleaded, "The situation has changed"—meaning the recession—but not mentioning that it had been sharpened by the Tory drive. And forthwith the Republican-Democratic coalition resumed the attack, bottling up the wages and hours bill, increasing the clamor of political agitation against the Wagner Labor Relations Act and every other New Deal reform, and pretty well demoralizing administration progressives on Capitol Hill. But the continuation of the recession, coupled with the November election-victories of labor and progressive forces, gave Roosevelt the opening he was looking for.

Thus, the Ickes and Jackson speeches. The issue they raised was not monopoly *per se*, or concentration of wealth and industrial control

in the abstract, but these in relation to the issue of social responsibility vs. uncontrolled depredation. The speeches were interpreted by some at whom they were aimed—or, more accurately, deliberately misinterpreted—as general assaults on *business*. It was in order to counter that misinterpretation, and clearly to distinguish between New Dealers and coat-tailers both in business and in politics, that Roosevelt included in his message opening this session the note welcoming coöperation *with* his program. That was not the “conciliatory” emphasis which the recalcitrants and their press played up. Rather, the message clearly indicated Roosevelt’s awareness of having the obstructors both inside and outside of Congress just about where he wanted them. The nub of it was in that final sentence about not letting the people down. It carried a fair warning: “If you do, it’s hara-kiri for you next November.” Probably it was just to cinch the point that Roosevelt—who scarcely ever made an uncalculated remark—tossed Republican Bert Snell that comment about “telling” ’em—not asking ’em.”

This awareness of a day of reckoning next November, plus the memory of the last elections, plus the fact of a chastened Supreme Court, and on top of all, the recession itself, left the die-hards with precious little appetite for a further head-on collision. So they abandoned it and adopted “coöperation.” Hence the sudden sweet-reasonableness of Girdler and Weir, and the restraint of the tory politicians and press in their comment on the President’s message.

I find a number of New Dealers aware that the proffered “coöperation” is in many cases not all it might imply, and bears watching. They see the possibility that it may reflect the “I’m-with-you-in-principle-but” technique employed by Bill Green. Confronted with irresistible sentiment for industrial unionism, he endorsed the principle but canceled it in action.

And Roosevelt is no slouch of a strategist either. He is fully capable of using the current White House conferences to further clear the air, and build sentiment for his own program even when that program conflicts with the advice of some of the new conferring “coöperators.” He is an old hand at receiving advice from all sides and, having listened, producing his own solution. This will certainly be the outcome of such conferences as that with Lamont, Weir, Sloan, etc., if it is reported correctly that these gentlemen had no new specifics to discuss. (I’m told, in fact, that the notable moment of one conference occurred when an administration adviser kept vigorously inviting discussion of just who caused the recession and how, and Mr. Lamont kept delicately declining.)

I do not mean these conferences are mere stage-settings for Roosevelt’s previously fixed program. Should representatives of small businessmen support the demand for modification of the undistributed profits tax, Roosevelt may concede it. But any fundamental shift in the administration program—including prominently the principle of taxation for social purposes, i.e., meeting popular needs with revenue de-

vices which also restrain the excesses and abuses of monopoly—does not seem to be in the cards. The Roosevelt program is likely rather to be extended. There is talk here, for instance, of a new mammoth spending-program for housing, libraries, roads, etc. It’s worth noting in this connection that the conferees who came with Roper recognized the principle of spending-for-recovery and agreed to the wages and hours bill.

PRECISELY in relation to the monopoly question, there is crystallizing a healthy realistic approach. I noticed it first in talking with a progressive Democratic congressman. Emphatically objecting to any threat or promise of eradicating all concentrated control—“For we all know very well capitalism is here to stay a while”—this legislator nevertheless insisted that within this framework we can simultaneously curb excesses and ward off further encroachment against consumer and worker by siphoning off top surpluses for emergency needs and by dealing with monopoly *in relation to* a whole series of measures rather than alone. That is not the old-style, trust-bustin’ approach of futile memory. Nor does it mean distinguishing between good and bad trusts and competition à la Teddy Roosevelt, Donald Richberg, and the monopolists who under N.R.A. reform banners further entrenched themselves. What a refreshing contrast to the attitude of the 1933 New Dealer who excitedly averred—while the employers wrote the codes after letting pre-C.I.O. labor have its little say-so—that Roosevelt was really reforming us straight into socialism!

This new approach is embraced also by faithful brain-trusters who shudder at the mere reappearance of their quondam colleague Richberg, now hired out to Wall Street. These New Dealers are not averse to anti-trust prosecutions, particularly if they can be speeded up by judicial reform. They are pushing for continued education of the public on the monopoly question, wherefore you may expect not only more speeches of the Ickes-Jackson variety, but also new federal investigations airing the situa-

tion between consumer and worker on one side and monopolist on the other in such juicy spots as the steel and food industries. In addition, administration experts are at work on an inter-corporate dividend tax proposal to step down certain holding company antics of big finance. I asked administration Senator Schwollenbach about this tax idea. “Of course, that’s the way to get at the situation,” he replied.

All this deepens the impression that the administration will keep its legislative program moving, not with the rigidity and the clamor of the “must-program” era, but with the idea of clearly doing its part toward fulfilling election-campaign promises and letting reactionary obstructors of both parties take the consequences in November, after which unfinished projects could march along nicely toward 1940.

In this connection certain administration advisers point out that the southern Democratic filibusters against the anti-lynching bill certainly do not reflect the sentiment of the New Deal’s mass following in the Deep South. But many of those, unemployed and employed, are disfranchised by poll taxes. How serious a matter this is was indicated by a southern C.I.O. organizer who noted that those actually voting in recent elections in the home town of Carter Glass were the merest fraction of the population. Labor and unemployed representatives, therefore, are looking into the possibility of launching a popular subscription campaign, perhaps led by Labor’s Non-Partisan League and unions, to provide those poll taxes.

THE LEGISLATIVE OUTLOOK at this point seems like this:

Anti-lynching. Prospects of breaking the filibuster are dubious. It takes a two-thirds vote to limit debate, and this would be opposed by Republicans among the large majority ready to vote for the bill. Also, some Democrats supporting the bill argue this is not sufficiently universal an issue on which to precipitate a split. They are determined, however, to find means of putting the handful of obstructors on record officially in relation to the issue if not specifically on this bill, and have not abandoned hope of wearing out the filibusterers. The trouble is that an indefinitely prolonged fight blocks other measures which can be won.

Wages and hours. Generally believed this will be enacted.

Farm. Bill probably will pass, but Senate and House conferees are rewriting it so drastically that a supplemental measure will probably be offered by progressives.

Unemployment. Schwollenbach-Allen resolution covering Workers’ Alliance objective expected to get administration support. It would guarantee work to all unable to find private employment, and repeal existing legal compulsion on officials to spread appropriation over the whole fiscal year. The latter will go out, barring surprise improvement in unemployment or new program like federal-built housing. Roosevelt message pledged Workers’ Alliance principle, but budget slashed next year’s money. Progressives preparing to enlarge, and expect success.



Robert Joyce

Peace policy. Ludlow amendment defeat is recognized as sign of shifting isolationist sentiment, and a great many legislators are much concerned with finding agreement on something to replace present day-to-day devices under a law they see is unneutral. Sentiment on a positive peace policy such as Roosevelt's quarantine for aggressors has still to be crystallized.

Wagner Act. Current investigation of the Labor Board and Senator Glass's committee slash in House appropriation are spadework toward a campaign for crippling modification of act—a sample of the "coöperation" progressives anticipate. Administration forces mobilizing and confident. On this question progressives in the House had an impressive victory: last year a bitter struggle featured by direct assaults on the Board was won by a handful; this time less than a score voted against the appropriation, there were no attacks on the Board, and a Democrat who launched a fight in the House committee recanted before the question reached the floor.

Taxes. Operation of undistributed profits may be revised, but the principle is expected to be retained, also the capital gains tax.

IN ADDITION to the above, progressives will bring forward their other measures. They are in the mood for action, and, more important, for unified action. They groped for organizational expression last year—and saw the impeding effects of nursing sectional, social-theoretical, and personal differences. Now they look for unity around a program and a leader. They are aware of unusually favorable conditions. For instance, there are at least fifty hard-working, realistic, courageous men in the House today who present, simply as human material, a pleasant contrast to the pre-crisis hordes of the errand-running type, whose thinking was confined to Mae West, the franking privilege, and the pork barrel. These include not only the Minnesota Farmer-Laborites like Bernard and Teigan, and the Wisconsin Progressives like Boileau, but young Democrats like Allen, Voorhis, Maverick, and some veterans like Lewis of Maryland, the erstwhile miner whose progressive ideas had kept him mighty lonely in the wilderness of the Capitol's marble halls. In addition to this number, who agree on most aspects of civil rights, monopoly restraints, and social taxation, there are perhaps one hundred and fifty others who would follow on some issues.

If anyone unites them effectively, it probably will be the tabasco-tongued Maverick—a southern Democrat, a dynamo, and one seemingly increasingly alert of late to the possibilities and the demands of organizational leadership. Some of these people are now meeting regularly. They have working contact with liberal senators.

Of course, their unified functioning is dependent on a more solid unification of progressive forces back home. That's where the new Labor's Non-Partisan League headquarters comes in. They have set up shop there—and the first thing they'll tell you proudly is that they seek to further the unification of labor and



Ned Hilton

The Traveling Salesman and the Farmer's Daughter

liberal forces both here and in the field. And they are going at both tasks with an impressive technique. It involves, first of all, the stimulation of organization, which national headquarters pushes by sending local units specific guidance (the latest thing is a detailed handbook on how to organize and conduct a political campaign) and by sending organizers to strategic spots. And they are moving: three local meetings on a recent Sunday mobilized representatives of not less than two hundred thousand voters; the next Sunday witnessed organizing meetings representing a half million more. Their New Jersey affiliate is on the job, with state headquarters right around the corner from the state capital. Units in St. Louis, Detroit, San Francisco, and a string of New England points are busy. Executive Vice-President E. L. Oliver lately visited the growing Florida group, and found people eager to get going in other Deep South spots, like South Carolina. Their Alabama unit had a hand in the sensational Lister Hill campaign. They are beginning to function in Maine—and have received an urgent request to come help people who want to organize in Vermont! This en-

ables spokesmen here to talk the only language every politician understands—that of masses of voters.

The League is planning a national convention for this spring, in the Midwest, in order to reach the farm and basic industrial population, and at that time will adopt a national legislative program. But they are functioning already on such basic measures as the wages and hours and farm bills, and recently participated in a small but striking exemplification of the results of uniting with C.I.O. and unemployed forces. When the Workers' Alliance demanded immediate additional jobs to meet the recession, the W.P.A. agreed to supply three hundred fifty thousand. But prompt checking between national and local leaders showed the jobs were not being distributed, and federal officials began wondering if they were not needed. The League, the Workers' Alliance, and the C.I.O. immediately set up joint committees in strategic cities. Result: representatives here discovered local relief officials and red-tape had caused the delay; the quotas now are reported rapidly being exhausted.



Fred Ellis

A Report on C.I.O. in Steel

By Bruce Minton

PITTSBURGH.

JOE MAGARAC could snap a half-ton bar of metal over his huge knees. That wasn't strange because Joe Magarac was born in the bowels of an iron mine, and he was made of steel all the way through.

Single-handed, Joe Magarac could make one thousand tons of steel a day, and more if he felt like it. Joe Magarac didn't need thermometers and such devices to test his steel. He would reach into the furnace, scoop out a handful of the dripping metal, and taste it.

Sometimes Joe Magarac felt sad. Then he would climb into the furnace and sit there with the flames roaring about his ears, idly stirring the steel with his arms, and thinking.

Joe Magarac was a great man.

STEEL WORKERS sitting in union halls tell the story of Joe Magarac. He is the symbol of the men who have long been masters of metal and fire and machinery, and who only recently began to be masters of their own lives.

Over long years, the workers who forge the stuff from which ships and trains and skyscrapers are fashioned vainly attempted to set themselves free. Time after time they tried to organize in self-protection, and time after time they were defeated—at Homestead, Ambridge, Aliquippa, Johnstown, always beaten back and battered into industrial serfdom. Until in 1936 the C.I.O. formed the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, which in a year won for steel workers hope and freedom and a new life.

That mighty struggle for organization is now history. Steel workers shudder when they recall the black past. The change has been sudden, far-reaching. In the space of eighteen months, 1080 S.W.O.C. lodges have been formed where no lodges existed before. Contracts with steel concerns protect over 550,000 wage earners. Company unions have vanished; company towns, where the Democratic Party did not dare hold meetings, have progressive administrations. The forty-hour week has become standard, wages have risen \$200,000,000 a year, workers are entitled to vacations with pay.

Hope has even seeped into the bleak streets of two-storied frame houses where steel workers live. The dull wretchedness of existence has been somewhat dispelled by union meetings, forums, study groups. Wives slowly follow the example of their men, building Women's Auxiliaries that participate in union struggles, and offer new horizons to restricted lives. The foreign-born grow articulate. Negroes, formerly outcasts whose conditions were always worse than those of the most unfortunate whites, find themselves welcomed

in the S.W.O.C. and given an equal voice in the union.

"We are no longer hunkies or wops, dagoes or Negroes," a tall steel puddler explained to a group of intense men at the back of the union hall. "We don't think of ourselves in the union as Catholics, or Protestants, or Jews. We're all workers in this man's organization." The Negro chairman of a grievance committee asked for the floor at an S.W.O.C. meeting: "I just want to tell them amongst you who are my people, don't be afraid to come in the door or any part of the building where there's a meeting. You tell our colored brothers that so long as they belong to the C.I.O. they can go anywhere the C.I.O. goes. We're all one in it together."

What the S.W.O.C. means to steel workers, other C.I.O. unions mean to the thousands in the mines and in the aluminum, glass, radio, and power plants. Two years back, men whispered when they talked organization, alert for spies, afraid for their jobs and their personal safety. Today they wear C.I.O. buttons in their lapels.

Cynics and rumor-mongers—even some of the more timid progressives—have recently predicted that the business recession and resulting unemployment would end the new era of hope for industrial workers. They said that the very existence of the C.I.O. was endangered by the lay-offs, and that as dues fell off—jobless men can't pay dues—the financially weakened unions would shrivel and die. The hostile newspapers made very clear that the growth of industrial unionism had been the result of a temporary enthusiasm on the part of the misguided who, in the face of reality, would speedily desert the C.I.O.

The predictions of doom were strengthened by alarming figures: one-third of the steel workers, approximately 182,000, were idle by the first week of January; 62 percent worked only part time, about eight hours a week; 5 percent, or 27,000, were fortunate enough to be employed full time. In the coal fields, miners averaged two days' work a week. Similar conditions existed in the glass, aluminum, and manufacturing industries.

Most of these who anticipated disaster reasoned from the premise that trade-union history would repeat itself. In 1929, they recalled, the A. F. of L. leadership had capitulated to the depression. Members unable to meet the high dues-payments had been excluded from the unions. While the executive council had grudgingly conceded that perhaps the unemployed had some rights worthy of protection, the council failed to organize those out of work or to take any real part in the struggle for adequate relief.

In contrast, the C.I.O. today refuses to

retreat. Those members who work five days a month are expected to pay dues; those who are employed for less time are exempted from payments, though they remain union members in good standing with the same voice and vote in union affairs. Instead of losing membership, the C.I.O. binds the workers closer to the locals. "We're laid off now," a worker in New Kensington told me, "but we know that no one else is going into the plant there. That's why we're not scared."

Philip Murray, chairman of the S.W.O.C., enunciated the C.I.O.'s policy toward the unemployed at the steel workers' convention last December:

A great national industrial union like ours cannot stand idly by and watch every fourth member thrown into idleness, and every other three members deprived of a full week's work. We must, we can, and we will give every protection within the power of our great union to those of our members who partially or completely are deprived of work through no fault of their own.

Immediately, the lodges translated this statement of policy into practice. Locals set up relief committees whose first task was to ascertain that those eligible for state unemployment insurance applied for benefits. (Unemployment relief in Pennsylvania is granted beginning this year to those jobless who have worked six weeks during the previous year, and entitles them to benefits not higher than \$15 a week, not lower than \$7.50 a week.) Even more important, the local committees won speedy relief for the jobless not covered by the insurance act, and obtained deficiency relief for those whose part-time wages fell below subsistence levels.

The manner in which the relief committee of the Ambridge S.W.O.C. lodge functioned is typical. With unemployment mounting, the local met and instructed a group of delegates to call on relief authorities. The delegates interviewed the head of the local relief bureau who, after a little urging, agreed that unemployed union men should be allowed to register at the union hall. In turn, the union agreed to notify the relief bureau of the applications. Instead of standing in line at the relief station for hours, sometimes for days, instead of being forced to argue individually with officials or waiting weeks to be investigated, the unemployed worker merely stated his case at union headquarters. The union's recommendation in almost every instance was sufficient proof of the applicant's need. Relief checks were speeded. Even when out of work, union members learned to turn to their lodge for help. Unemployment failed to shatter the union; rather its hold on the membership increased as workers looked to it for aid.

In Homestead, Glassport, Duquesne, Ali-

quippa, in countless industrial and mining towns, the unions have forced relief officials to expand the rolls and to provide immediate assistance. In Harmarville, for example, the ugly little mining town that struggles along the banks of the Allegheny River a few miles north of Pittsburgh, when seven hundred bituminous miners were thrown out of work by the shutting down of the Consumers' Coal Co., the United Mine Workers' local called an emergency meeting. Upon requesting and receiving support and cooperation from neighboring unions, the U.M.W.'s committee visited relief authorities. Members were placed without delay on relief rolls supposedly "full"; the jobless received checks four and a half days later instead of being forced to wait the customary seven days; the Public Assistance Office employed five union members to help speed the work; and the union persuaded relief officials to open an office in the union hall so that the miners could register more speedily.

The pessimists who look for the C.I.O.'s disintegration should visit western Pennsylvania, center of the C.I.O.'s largest unions and the most important industrial region in the United States. They would be astounded at the confident vigor that pervades union halls. When industry was functioning, the C.I.O. proved its worth by bringing organization to workers hitherto considered unorganizable, and by raising wages, shortening hours, improving working and living conditions. And now, in a period of lay-offs, the C.I.O. further proves what unionism can mean by protecting workers, assuring them relief, and strengthening their reliance on the unions. Meeting after meeting discusses the problems of the unemployed, and at each meeting workers restate the advantages of industrial unionism. "The C.I.O. is here to carry out President Roosevelt's promise that no citizen of this country shall go hungry," an aluminum delegate explained at an industrial union conference. "And I might add, neither shall he freeze to death." Fifty miles away, up the Monongahela, a flat-glass worker declared: "No man or woman, boy or girl, regardless of race, color, or creed, should be forced to go without food or forced to live without proper heat and shelter. It's our business to see that they don't." Conferences meet daily in the Pittsburgh area and pass resolutions similar to the one endorsed by the Tarentum convention:

That no considerations of economy or balancing the budget be permitted to interfere with the support by the government of a minimum health and decency standard of living for those who are dependent on public assistance through no fault of their own, and that such support be financed by taxation of those best able to pay.

ON FEBRUARY 28, the S.W.O.C.'s contract with the United States Steel Corp. and its subsidiaries expires. Negotiations for renewal of the contract will start on February 7. Throughout the river valleys where the steel mills sprawl, lodges are preparing for the struggle of forcing Big Steel to continue bar-



Trombka

gaining collectively with the S.W.O.C. Last December, the steel workers' delegates at the wage-scale and policy convention in Pittsburgh voted the S.W.O.C. "full power to secure the best joint wage agreement possible." But a favorable contract is not won solely through astute bargaining. Behind the union negotiators must stand a strong union. "If we're together 100 percent as a union, we can get pretty much what we set out to get," a Carnegie-Illinois delegate remarked at a lodge meeting in Pittsburgh. "I know the contract we have now isn't everything we want, not by a long shot. But we've got \$1.24 in our pay envelopes that wasn't there before. Hourly wages haven't been cut. When our representatives walk into the company's office, the bosses know our strength and act accordingly."

Wherever S.W.O.C. lodges hold contracts with the mill owners, rallies are organized to build up union attendance and to collect dues from those who still can pay. Big Steel must sign. Few doubt that the companies will finally renew the contract, but the stronger the S.W.O.C. can show itself when it enters negotiations, the better the terms will be.

No doubt hard times will be used as an excuse to beat back the workers' demands for an improved contract. S.W.O.C. members are fully aware that the business recession cannot be blamed wholly on lack of orders. The workers say that those who control Big Steel, like all the great monopolists in America, expect unemployment and increasing misery to facilitate reduction of wage standards. In addition to demanding still further concessions from the federal and state governments as the price of ending their sit-down strike, the industrialists dream of destroying the labor movement. If the S.W.O.C. can obtain a favorable contract with Big Steel, the sit-downers will receive a major set-back.

Industry has organized its sabotage skillfully so that it is impossible to place the blame on any single monopolistic enterprise. The railroads, desiring higher rates, refuse to buy equipment until their demands are met; steel, immediately affected, seizes the opportunity to reduce inventories, and the blast furnaces no longer flare; mines that supply steel with

fuel curtail production; wages drop, purchases of consumption goods fall, the demand for automobiles decreases, and the auto manufacturers retard their output; rubber, glass, aluminum plants produce less; railroad carloadings taper off. The interrelated capitalist structure contracts, each monopolist helping to create panic, and throughout the nation workers are crushed in a vise tightened by the few who seek greater profits.

The C.I.O., however, has accepted the challenge. With the unions preserving their strength despite lay-offs, wage scales can be maintained in the mass-production industries and hours of work can be restricted. Thus the signing of the contract with Big Steel becomes a test of the C.I.O.'s strength in a period of unemployment. Big Steel cannot play the jobless against those who still have work—that ruse was useful only when the unions abandoned the unemployed as they did when the A. F. of L. dominated the labor movement. Nor can Big Steel complain that the S.W.O.C. failed to abide strictly to the terms of the former contract. And so in less than a month, Big Steel must reply to a united S.W.O.C., representing half a million determined steel workers, who demand the renewal of the contract adjusted in such a way that the inequitable provisions of the old agreement are eliminated.

Once Big Steel is pledged to collective bargaining, the S.W.O.C. can turn its attention to the renewal of the battle with Little Steel (Bethlehem, Republic, Inland, and Youngstown) and with such independents as Weirton. Last summer, the open-shoppers shifted their fortresses from the plants of United States Steel to the smaller mills. The S.W.O.C., still young, failed when it attempted to storm these strongholds. But no union can expect complete success in its initial offensive.

The renewed contract with Big Steel will further consolidate the S.W.O.C.'s first immense gains. Once again, the C.I.O. will close in on Little Steel. Already the union has made important advances. At Johnstown, Pa., Philip Clowes, S.W.O.C. organizer, tirelessly reconstructs the union in Bethlehem Steel, patiently pointing out the mistakes of the first attack when the local union failed to explain the strike to the small shopkeepers and the middle classes. The townspeople must be made to understand the benefits of the S.W.O.C., Clowes insists; they must learn that higher wages increase the workers' purchasing power, which in turn allows them to buy more food, more clothing, more of all the things the merchants have to sell. Unionism serves not only the workers but the whole community. Once this is grasped, the company is isolated and its appeals to public opinion with false slogans of the "right to work" lose effectiveness. The company will be unable to organize vigilante committees such as the "Committee of 500" that helped break the strike last summer. Even Mayor Dan Shields, former bootlegger jailed for violating the criminal code, who for \$30,000 agreed to

smash the strike, is powerless once the majority of people understand what the S.W.O.C. means to them.

Progress similar to that in Johnstown has been made in other sections of Little Steel's domain. The next attack against Little Steel will be better planned and more determined. For what Ford is to the auto workers, Little Steel is to the S.W.O.C. So long as any portion of the industry remains unorganized, the gains of the union elsewhere cannot be considered secure.

Other problems confront the steel workers. Mechanization threatens the jobs of thousands. In three years' time, hundreds of old-type mills will be dismantled, replaced by mills that can roll a third of a mile of hot strip in one minute. The new mills will produce 2500 tons in twenty-four hours with 126 men; formerly, 4512 men were required in ninety-six sheet mills to produce an equivalent tonnage in the same time. "In other words," Philip Murray told the Pittsburgh convention, "fifteen thousand strip mill workers will be doing the work of one hundred thousand. . . ." Soon only 20 percent of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand steel workers normally employed on sheet bar, heavy plate, sheet, and black plate mills will have jobs.

What will become of the one hundred thousand whose jobs have been permanently abolished? "I do not know the answer to these questions," Murray admitted. "Nor does a program of action clearly present itself today." He suggested that Congress conduct a survey of curtailed job opportunities; at the same time, he added, the S.W.O.C. must attempt to devise a program to meet the problem. For

one thing, hours can be reduced with wage standards raised, thus spreading work without impairing earnings. Only the union can hope to avert the wholesale despair threatened by technological change.

Mechanization also menaces the members of the United Mine Workers. Nor does the union as yet offer a solution, though it desperately casts about for some means of caring for those displaced by machines. To correct the abuse of shutting down mines practiced by monopolists who desire to curtail production, the U.M.W., strongest labor organization in the country, has for many years proposed nationalization of the mines. If the operators cannot or will not run the mines, then the U.M.W. advocates that the government take them over and keep them operating. Again, the work-day can be diminished, the work-week shortened, the minimum hourly wage raised, and a guarantee obtained of at least two hundred days of employment each year. The U.M.W., now holding a convention in Washington, has the additional task of spreading organization to those mines that still maintain the open shop or support company unions—the captive mines owned by the steel corporations. So long as the captive mines remain unorganized, the U.M.W. is weakened, just as the S.W.O.C. is weakened by Little Steel.

All C.I.O. unions, each with problems peculiar to the industry it organizes, desire unity in the union movement. In Pennsylvania, the State Federation of Labor has refused to comply with the order of William Green, president of the A. F. of L., to expel affiliates of the C.I.O. In fact, Green has had to "postpone" a flat demand for expulsion at the

coming convention of the state federation, fearing that if he pressed for it the A. F. of L. would lose the 25 percent of organized workers in Pennsylvania who still remain within the Federation. On a state-wide basis, the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. cooperate without friction. In western Pennsylvania, local Central Labor Councils have expelled C.I.O. unions, which immediately formed industrial union councils. On every question, particularly on political questions, the C.I.O. attempts to bring the A. F. of L. into joint participation. Significantly, in the industrial centers that ring Pittsburgh, the rank and file of the A. F. of L. joins the C.I.O. in every labor action.

THE C.I.O., its strength and weakness, can be judged only in the light of its achievements in the mass production industries. The major mines and plants of the four basic industries of steel, coal, aluminum, and glass are located for the most part in western Pennsylvania. Here, despite the recession, the C.I.O. is powerful and growing.

It is true that because of unemployment, dues have dropped. Yet membership has not fallen off to any appreciable extent, and during the crisis, the C.I.O. in this region has become the center of over a million workers' lives, the center of their wives' and children's lives. The union helps to preserve some remnant of a standard of living. It is legal advisor and educator. Union headquarters is at once recreation hall and relief office and political center.

In striving for economic betterment, workers learn that they must control the political life of their community, their state, their nation. The C.I.O. has already made impressive advances on the political front in the Pittsburgh region. A subsequent article will discuss the growth of independent political action rooted in the unions and extending into the middle classes. No longer is politics an abstract proposition, for labor rules in many a steel town.

The mounting political awareness was expressed at a union conference near Pittsburgh. A flat-glass delegate told the audience, "We don't want steam yachts—no, but we do want bathrooms." The next speaker, a steel worker, added, "Sure, bathrooms are swell. We get them by raising our wages. But we can only get a chance to raise our wages if we can build our unions. Economic emancipation depends on political emancipation. What we got to do is to win freedom all round."

★ ★ ★

Rooms and Beds

She has a room and a chair,
a low, sunken, and played-out bed
and an easy way of making friends:

Many people have lived in her room,
many shoes have walked the sidewalk
past her dusty basement windowpanes,

Many hands have rapped on the glass
late in the afternoon, rap until
late at night and every night:

She has a room and a bed and herself,
all five feet eight of her, long,
white as skin and pink as powder:

Where do we go and what's the answer?
why are nights so long and years so short?
where do we come from and how do we go?

Who has that twenty-dollar job,
who gives those twenty-dollar jobs,
where are they and how far do they go?

A new dress and another name,
a new kind of movie and another dream,
a change of lipstick, address and luck:

Life is time and history made no one,
people are not people but razortoothed
animals running in a nickelplate jungle:

History lives between the covers
of a book: the future's made of wrinkles,
the future is totally composed of wrinkles,

Wrinkles all over the soft eyes,
the mouth that moves too much, wrinkles
that grow like gray threads of moss,

Outward from knees and elbows:
age is white fire that burns skin
gray, yellow, lavender, and white:

She is the girl whom no one
has ever met, whom everyone has met,
whose face has somewhere been seen before.

JAMES NEUGASS.

4 A.M., S.R.I., Albacete, Spain.

NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors

THEODORE DRAPER, GRANVILLE HICKS, CROCKETT JOHNSON,
JOSHUA KUNITZ, HERMAN MICHELSON, BRUCE MINTON,
SAMUEL SILLEN.

Contributing Editors

ROBERT FORSYTHE, JOSEPH FREEMAN, MICHAEL GOLD,
HORACE GREGORY, ALFRED O'MALLEY, LOREN MILLER,
ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Business and Circulation Manager
GEORGE WILLNER

Advertising Manager
ERIC BERNAY



Franco Tries Again

TERUEL is again under attack, and the second counter-offensive seems to be on even a greater scale than the first. This one started on January 18, which means that only about a week of relative calm intervened between the first and second drives. After several days of fierce bombardment, the fascists recaptured one position, El Muleton, but, according to Herbert L. Matthews of the New York Times, Franco had to use "virtually every soldier and gun that he had been saving for his own offensive at Guadalajara" to do it. The issue of the entire battle is in doubt as we go to press, but apparently authentic sources report that the American and Canadian volunteers are playing a preëminent role in the conflict.

What induced Franco to start this second great counter-offensive against entrenched positions is still largely problematical. It is likely that Teruel is really the focal point of rebel strategy; in its wider implications this means that the fundamental insurgent goal is to divide the loyalist territory in two and then subdue each of the parts separately. Teruel is certainly the jumping-off point for any such plan of campaign.

Another plausible explanation is based on the indubitably growing conflicts within the insurgent camp. These conflicts are twofold: between the army and the civilian masses and within the army itself between the Spanish troops and the Italo-German invaders. The loss of Teruel so inflamed these antagonisms that its recapture is considered a necessary condition for restoring some measure of calm among the rebels. Both these considerations probably make up the actual story behind the second drive against Teruel now in progress.

Editing Hemingway

HERBERT L. MATTHEWS's dispatches are still the best coming from Spain even though the coöperation he's been getting from his home office has been notori-

ously bad. It has been reported that the night editor of the Times once cabled Matthews that nobody but Moscow believed his stories. The office sleuth at the New MASSES has just uncovered a bit of evidence along this line that is based on the Times itself rather than the deliverances of the Madrid-to-New York grape-vine circuit.

Some time last week we received some publicity material from Carrick & Evans, publishers of Matthews's new book, *Two Wars and More to Come*. Included was a facsimile of a cable to the publishers from Ernest Hemingway in praise of the Matthews book. The Hemingway cable read:

Herbert Matthews is the straightest, the ablest, and the bravest war correspondent writing today. He has seen the truth where it was very dangerous to see, and in this book he brings that rarest commodity to you. In a world where faking now is far more successful than the truth, he stands like a gaunt lighthouse of honesty. And when the fakers are all dead, they will read Matthews in the schools to find out what really happened. I hope his office will keep some uncut copies of his dispatches in case he dies.

Opening the Times of January 24 we found an advertisement of the book quoting the Hemingway cable—all but the last sentence, which was omitted. That final sentence, remember, reads: "I hope his office will keep some uncut copies of his dispatches in case he dies." Now we know that the Times has stopped printing Hemingway's own dispatches from Spain, though he has continued to send them to the North American Newspaper Alliance, which supplies the Times, and we suspected that Matthews's stories had also been given some "all the news that's fit to print" treatment, namely, copious cuts by the home office.

We do not know where the responsibility lies for the absence of that last, significant sentence of the Hemingway cable, but we do think that the whole business needs explaining. Did the Times refuse to take the ad unless that sentence was omitted? Did Carrick & Evans know that Matthews's dispatches have been treated shabbily and decide upon the omission themselves? Or what?

Kill the Filibuster!

AS this is written, representatives of labor and liberals move on the United States Senate to rescue the anti-lynching bill. More, much more, of this is needed at once.

Our Washington article in this issue indicates the southern bourbon filibusters have contrived a critical situation through wanton abuse of the Senate's free forum. Everybody knows unlimited debate was intended to en-

sure democratic expression to minority views—not to enable a dozen or so reactionaries undemocratically to stall the whole legislative machine.

There is one significant reason why the filibusters dare continue. They have achieved some success in misrepresenting the anti-lynching measure. They try to make it look like something that exclusively concerns the Negro minority directly involved. That is why some among the overwhelming majority reported to be supporting the bill hesitate to invoke cloture to end the debate, arguing that "this is not a sufficiently universal issue" for drastic enforcement of democratic procedure.

The active demands of Labor's Non-Partisan League, John Brophy of the C.I.O., and of other union and liberal forces should clear the air. They should demonstrate the awareness outside of Washington that the anti-lynching bill is vital to the civil rights of all of us. This is all too menacingly clear in the very words of the filibusters. Those spokesmen for pre-Civil War plantation absolutism and its modern counterpart in the textile mills duplicate the sickeningly barbaric cries which the same prototypes of American fascism raised when suppressing labor and liberals, Negro and white, in Gastonia, the Kentucky miners, and elsewhere.

Make this plain! Particularly to the Democrats supporting the bill but hesitating to force a showdown. And, even more particularly, to the Republicans who neatly straddle, vouchsafing support but openly refusing to join in a vote to close the filibuster and vote for the bill.

Hague Branches Out

THE United States Senate has had its full share of grafting politicians, but rarely has it seated one so thoroughly smeared with the corruption of machine politics as John Milton, pay-off man for Mayor Hague of Jersey City.

When Milton was seated the other day, the first round in the battle went to the enemy; but the fight has only started. Labor's Non-Partisan League has charged flatly that Milton's appointment by Hague's puppet-governor Moore is "simply another payment for services rendered." The charge has been amply proved in advance by various investigations in New Jersey which revealed Milton as the man who covered up Hague's disposal of his graft collections. Milton issued the checks for which Hague later reimbursed him in cash. Covering up for Hague means covering up for the most completely autocratic political machine operating today in America. The Constitution doesn't exist in Jersey City, and the republican form of government has gone down with it. "I am the law," said

Hague; he is also the governor, and now the United States senator.

Ouster proceedings will undoubtedly be pressed by labor, and it is difficult to see on what basis the administration can justify, as it is reported to be preparing to do, opposing these proceedings. John Milton in the United States Senate is a slap in the face to organized labor, an insult to the American people.

The C.I.O. Answers

BETWEEN the time the Scripps-Howard organization accepted the anti-labor, Red-baiting series of articles by Benjamin Stolberg, and the time of publication, the editors began to realize that they had bought a smelly product. A check-up of the articles uncovered so many obvious misstatements that it became necessary to send out an inter-office communication correcting as many as twenty-five errors of fact in the series. Nevertheless, Scripps-Howard went ahead with the series, and once and for all branded itself in the eyes of great numbers of organized workers as a treacherous enemy operating under the guise of liberalism.

The readers of the Scripps-Howard papers have been reacting indignantly to Stolberg's lies and misrepresentations. Now the C.I.O. has spoken, through the person of its national director. At a great meeting last week in Toledo, held jointly by the local C.I.O. unions and the Workers' Alliance, John Brophy began his speech to six thousand workers by saying:

This great meeting is your answer to a renegade radical who would malign the great movement led by the C.I.O. A journalistic commentator is not of much significance—not as much as an erstwhile liberal chain of newspapers which has capitalized over the years on its reputation of being liberal and progressive. But when a liberal force really gets into action, it hires a renegade radical to do the dirty work of besmirching the labor movement. You have answered this renegade, and you have served notice on the newspapers which would discredit labor before the public.

Brophy drew a parallel between Stolberg and the fascist-minded radio priest, Father Coughlin, "now common bedfellows, who join hands against the mighty force of labor." Of the Scripps-Howard chain he said: "These papers claim to be liberal, but when they are put to the test, they accept the doctrine of Hearst, they become anti-labor and anti-liberal. . . . The labor movement is finding out who are its enemies."

The Scripps-Howard organization would do well to chew on that reference to Hearst, before extending too far its anti-labor policies. The boycott of the Hearst papers which developed in response to Hearst's Red-baiting campaign contributed its effect in bringing about the present precarious position of the

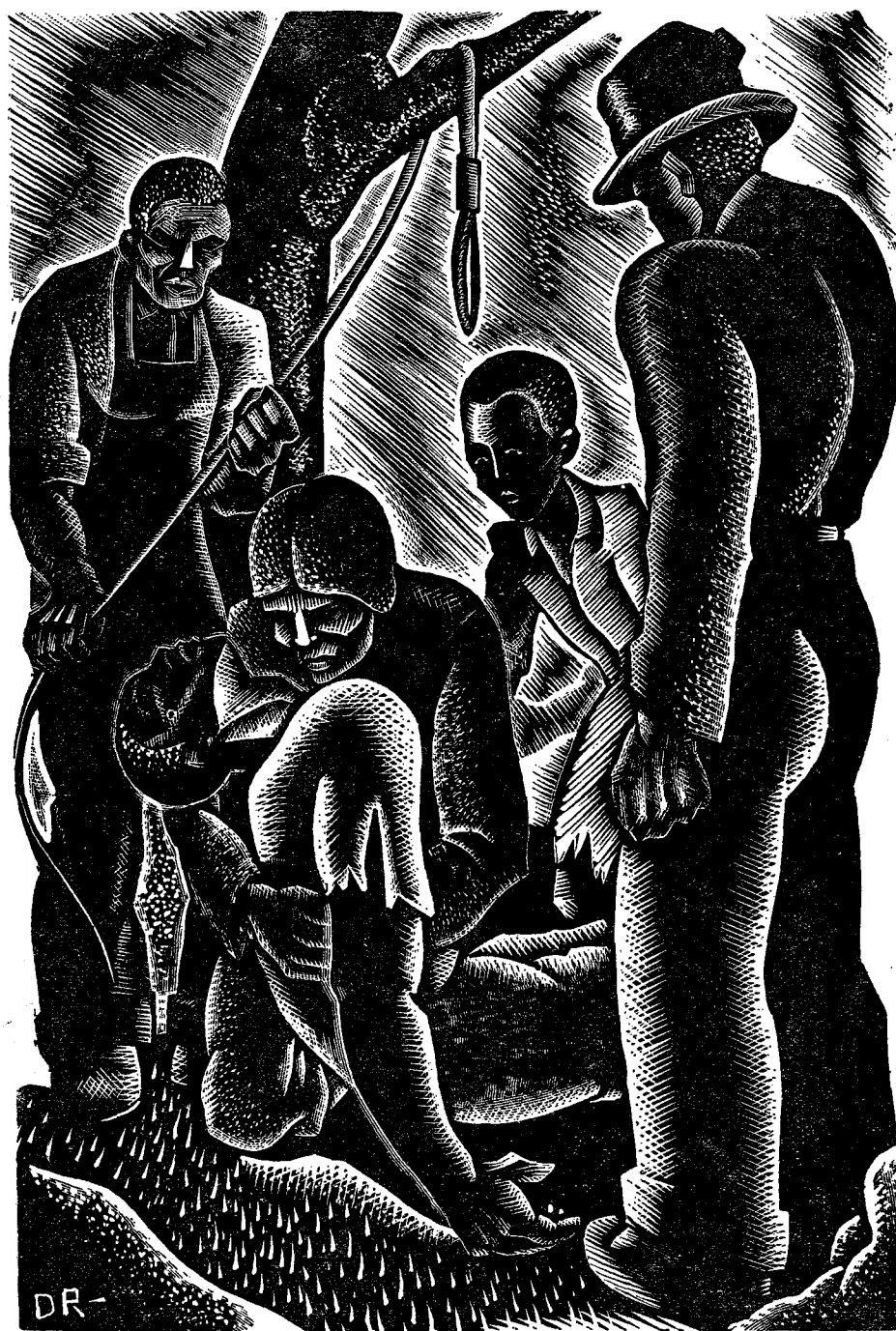
Hearst empire. Labor can invoke the boycott again. It is finding out who are its enemies.

Recession in Britain

AN economic recession, possibly more severe than that in the United States, has hit Great Britain. According to the London *Financial News*, the turning point in England also came last autumn. A number of British commentators have expressed the opinion that the key to the situation lies in the United States—a decisive sign of British decline in world economy. Others believe that the trouble lies with the empire. British investments abroad decreased by \$380,000,000 in the last two years, and that figure is bound to increase should the Japanese succeed in

grabbing all China. The income from these foreign investments has long been the foundation of British imperialism; its decline is symptomatic of a basic enervation.

As yet, the chief burden of the slump is being carried by the British working class. The Ministry of Labor announced that the increase in the jobless for November-December 1937 amounted to 166,204. This rise in unemployment is the biggest ever recorded at this season of the year, exceeding even the black month of 1930 when the jobless increase was 122,000. The period November-December has always been one in which unemployment showed a substantial decline, except when a slump loomed on the immediate horizon. Among the trades hardest hit by the current recession were the building trade



Subject for a Senatorial Filibuster

Woodcut by Dan Rios

and the clothing, boots, shoes, and furniture industries.

British labor leaders are freely predicting that the Chamberlain government will call for a national election in 1938 in order to return to office before the full effects of the slump turn the electorate irrevocably against it. From the American point of view, any continuation of the British recession is sure to make conditions worse at home.

Labor Cares for Its Own

ALL the more reason, then, for John L. Lewis's emphasis upon an effective program for coping with unemployment by both the government and the labor movement. The "right to work" has become a basic tenet in C.I.O. policy. Reflecting the unemployment within the working class generally, almost all unions have been hard hit by lay-offs. Whereas in past depressions, the labor movement withered, its very existence in danger, there are no signs of demoralization or disintegration now. The C.I.O. unions especially have hastened to set up special committees for their unemployed and have succeeded in taking care of their own or exerting sufficient pressure on the government to increase the relief rolls.

As John L. Lewis has most recently put it, in a speech just prior to the United Mine Workers' convention in Washington, the C.I.O. was not caught unprepared by the recession. "We were uncertain as to this new depression only as to the time and date," said Mr. Lewis. "So we made all the haste possible in organizing your union and other mass production industries before the pendulum swung back." If the C.I.O. succeeds in weathering the recession, or any subsequent depression, in good shape, it will be for the first time in the history of the American labor movement. There is no better sign of the movement's coming of age.

Reorganization in China

EVER since the fall of Nanking, the most significant aspect of the war in China has been political rather than strictly military. The last few weeks have been a period of reorganization on both sides. Meanwhile, the Japanese advance has slowed down along the Yangtze, bogged down along the Yellow River, and broken down in the crucial North.

Thus it happens that when the army stops marching, the politicians and the financiers begin talking. Last week, Japan's government leaders had to do considerable explaining before the regular session of the Diet. First, they had to explain that a short war is now altogether out of the question.

But a long war means higher taxes, so the tax rate will be raised again. Finally, in a speech that was really frank for a Japanese official, Foreign Minister Hirota congratulated the United States for its "fair and just attitude" of neutrality, twitted the British for slowness in "comprehending correctly Japan's position in East Asia," and applauded Germany and Italy for "their friendly and most sympathetic attitude."

Independent information from China indicates that Hirota was not wrong when he expressed the opinion that the Chinese opposition had to be broken because it could not be bought. It is interesting to recapitulate the signs of this attitude among the Chinese government leaders. On December 16, General Chiang Kai-shek in a radio broadcast to the nation pledged that he would never surrender. Immediately thereafter, discussions got under way in Hankow, in which the Communists participated, to formulate more effective methods of resistance. The Central Political Council of the government, headed by the very doubtful Wang Ching-wei, was abolished. Chu Teh, the most famous of the Communist commanders, has been appointed field commander-in-chief of the Yellow River valley forces. Other Communists have also been given important commands. On December 26, Wang Ming, a leading Communist now in Hankow, told the United Press that while his party still desired to improve the composition of the government, it was satisfied with the government's resolute efforts to reorganize for eventual victory.

Trotskyites at Work

THE NEW MASSES has criticized the *Nation* on many occasions. Hence we are glad of the opportunity to congratulate the *Nation* for its clear and courageous re-

ply last week to a high-pressure letter drawn up by Trotskyites and Lovestoneites and palmed off as a liberal document of protest against collective security.

Ostensibly the letter was the collective effort of forty-five liberals, but these included only a handful of genuine progressives and labor leaders, who were roped into signing by the Lovestoneist-Trotskyist splinter which is so poisonous a fester in the side of the labor movement. The majority of the forty-five were open Trotskyites like James T. Farrell, and only slightly concealed Lovestoneites like Lewis Corey. In language and in program the letter was but a rehash of the stuff which appears weekly in the Lovestoneist and Trotskyist sheets. There is no difference these days between the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites. Besides their common work in the counter-revolutionary P.O.U.M. in Spain, they scheme together on every issue to disrupt the progressive movement against fascism.

The contents of the letter are a typical bit of Stoolbergism. The real issue of collective defense against fascist aggression and war is avoided. Instead, the attack is made against "war-mongering of the Right or the Left." Then in brazen fashion the letter calls the Neutrality Act "a piece of democratic legislation," and concludes that collective security leads to war and fascism.

The *Nation* correctly replies that isolation will not keep the United States from being involved in war, that it only encourages further Japanese aggression. It points out that collective action can be peaceful and indeed is the only guarantee for the maintenance of peace.

It is heartening to see the *Nation* line up on the side of collective security and refuse to be blackmailed by the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites. Those liberals and pacifists who were duped into signing should reexamine their new allies. The Trotskyist-Lovestoneist support of the Ludlow amendment receives hearty applause from the Hearst press and the Nazis.

It is significant that the letter supports the Neutrality Act which was jammed through Congress by the State Department as an aid to Franco. The Trotskyites and Lovestoneites thus uphold the infamous measure which prevents needed supplies from going to the loyalists and permits shipments of arms to Franco via the Nazis. Here is another concrete instance of the support which the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites give to fascism. Those who found it hard to believe that these groups were counter-revolutionary can now see them in their true light as the result of their latest treachery to the cause of peace and democracy.

FACTS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R. — IX. The Industry of the Union Republics

A more even distribution of productive forces and a rapid industrial development of all Union republics have been achieved during the years of Soviet power. Industrial production in the individual Union republics has grown as follows (figures are for 1936 as compared with 1913):

R.S.F.S.R.	an increase of	7.8 times
Ukraine	" " "	6.9 "
White Russia	" " "	15.9 "
Azerbaijan	" " "	5.4 "
Georgia	" " "	18.6 "
Armenia	" " "	12.0 "
Turkmenistan	" " "	7.1 "
Uzbekistan	" " "	4.4 "
Tadjikistan	" " "	116.0 "
Kazakistan	" " "	11.8 "
Kirghizia	" " "	95.0 "



Ref.

Anton Refregies

THE OPEN MIND

F O R S Y T H E ' S P A G E

The Disintegration of Mr. Stolberg

BY the very heavens I had vowed to write no more about the Trotskyites, but how is one to resist such magnificent material. Unless you have read a letter written several weeks ago to the *New Republic* by Max Eastman, you will have no idea of what goes on in the human mind. It seems that the NEW MASSES had been reproaching the *New Republic* for an article on Japan by a gentleman named Willard Price, which appeared to the editors of this magazine as being propaganda in favor of Japan. The *New Republic* replied that the article had really been a satire and that we had lost our sense of humor. It was then that Eastman rode into the fray.

It has been increasingly evident, says Maxie, that the *New Republic* has been coming under the sway of the Stalinists, and this comment in the NEW MASSES is an indication of what will happen to you. First you come under the sway of the Stalinists, and then the Stalinists begin to guide your policy, and when you don't act just right, the Stalinists smack you. Since you are so obviously now just agents of Stalin, you poor *New Republic* fellows, you may expect a merry lot of smacking in the future. (Maxie said nothing about Moscow gold or secret cable connections direct with the Kremlin, but it was rather plain that there was something dirty going on in the offices of the N.R.)

What, actually, goes on in a brain like Maxie's and what sort of miasmic haze hovers over everybody who gets close to Trotsky? It isn't that the man bewitches them but that he befuddles them. John Dewey makes one visit to Mexico and returns with a mind so full of hobgoblins, pixies, and sinister figures that he has the appearance of a man who walks eight blocks to avoid a cemetery. As I have pointed out previously, his radio talk which followed the report of the Dewey commission on Trotsky was such a ridiculous performance that future historians will not be able to comment on it for laughing. I dislike to write in this way for fear people will think I am ridiculing Dr. Dewey instead of answering his accusations, but I ask in all humility: How could anybody answer such childishness? (a) Anybody who advocates force to halt fascism is merely pulling Stalin's chestnuts out of the fire. (b) The Communists are trying to disrupt American labor, as their part in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. (c) All Communists are liars, intimidators, and saboteurs. The mind bogs at such nonsense! It is like trying to argue with Mayor Frank Hague. If

you ask the mayor for proof of his sensational charges, he will merely reply: "You're a Red; ain't you? Well, all Reds are liars, consequently you're a liar!"

Dr. Dewey is obviously only the mouthpiece for smarter and more alert gentlemen. (As witness his Charlie McCarthy performance of popping up, opening and shutting his mouth automatically, and informing the world that the celebrated Robinsons of New York and Moscow were merely part of the Stalin plot.) You get into something infinitely more clever and dangerous when you approach Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, the well-known parlor fink. I have known Mr. Stolberg for a long time and have the highest regard for his astuteness. He is a brilliant conversationalist and a brilliant writer. Because he poses as a radical and has always had most caustic and witty things to say in derogation of any particular radical policy, he has had a position of influence in many quarters which would have set the dogs on a genuine revolutionary. He has had great influence on such other radicals as Dorothy Thompson and Sinclair Lewis.

In his series of articles for the Scripps-Howard papers on the C.I.O., he has concluded practically every article with the statement that the aim of the Communists is to disrupt the C.I.O. This is to be done as part of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, under that evil character, Joseph Stalin.

It is at this point that I revert to my normal stupidity and await anxiously the explanation by the brilliant Mr. Stolberg on just how this Machiavellian policy works. He is quite plain about it: the Communists are deliberately disrupting the American labor movement as their share in the Soviet foreign policy. As things alter in Moscow, so they alter among the Communists in the C.I.O.

At this juncture, I begin to feel a little faint. I think hard. I insist to myself that the truth is all there if I will only understand it. Obviously it is my fault. It is so simple and so understandable to the average reader of a Scripps-Howard paper that even they don't need it explained. I keep asking myself plaintively: just



T. Sachoff

Leon Trotsky

why would that arch-criminal, Joseph Stalin, bad as he is, desire the labor movement in America to be disrupted? The simplest mind must be aware that a divided labor movement is not the most excellent defense against fascism. Can it be, then, that the American Communists and the Soviet Union desire fascism in America? Is that part of the diabolical scheme of Stalin?

But if that is true, how is one to account for the policy of the Soviet Union in Spain? If fascism is what they want, what could be easier than support for Franco and the withholding of supplies for the loyalists? And why do American Communists go off to Spain to fight in the International Brigade? I'm a simple man; the thing is too intricate for me. And those Soviet planes which are now helping China instead of Japan? Is that part of the plot, too?

But if my mind is simple, it is also adaptive, and I think I know just what Mr. Stolberg means. Every morning the Communists in the C.I.O. get secret news from Moscow. It appears that the Uzbeks are sore at the Tadjiks over a soccer game and serious consequences are feared. What to do in the C.I.O.! Why, a sit-down strike in the Pontiac plant is obviously the tactic called for. . . . In fact, Joseph Stalin insists on it. The secret message has been very clear. Stalin has radioed in plain words: "See Jake Blotz Pontiac plant arrange sit-down Uzbek situation serious." If there is an argument with Japan about border raids, what simpler solution than a strike against Tom Girdler? The effect upon the Japanese will be remarkable and the regime of Stalin will be saved!

Mr. Stolberg is not a Trotskyite. He will tell you that frankly. He thinks the Trotskyites are negligible. (Dr. Dewey made it plain that he had never been for Trotsky and was even less so now, which will make everybody feel better.) What Mr. Stolberg is for is the C.I.O. and Homer Martin. He loves the C.I.O. And every single solitary person who doesn't think Mr. Martin is God is a bad, bad man.

Of course Roy W. Howard isn't a sap; he's just a gentleman who will gladly publish any Trotskyist propaganda if it hurts the C.I.O. Mr. Stolberg is not a disrupter. . . . Oh, no! He is merely a man who loves the C.I.O. so much he will gladly break it up. It hurts him to do it, but even if it furnishes ammunition for Mayor Hague, Hamilton Fish, and the Manufacturers' Association, he will persist.

If you think I am hoaxing you about the Uzbeks, I will quote you the latest statement by Mr. Stolberg on the situation. He writes:

For they [the Communists] are not guided by the needs of the union as such, but by the foreign policy and the internal fortunes of the Stalin regime. Russia's relations in the Far East, her position in the international wheat market, anything at all, may affect the compass of the "party line."

Have you ever in your life seen a brain disintegrate before your eyes like that!

ROBERT FORSYTHE.

Behind the French Crisis

By Gabriel Péri

PARIS, January 22 (By Cable).

THE Popular Front carries on. Such is the outcome of the French cabinet crisis, now solved with the formation of a Radical cabinet by Camille Chautemps. The influence exerted by the masses within French public opinion was not strong enough to impose a government in the true image of the Popular Front, in the image of the *Rassemblement Populaire*, the united front of mass organizations, including trade unions, grouped around the Popular Front. But it was sufficiently powerful to prevent M. Chautemps from changing the character of his majority. And it obliged him to deliver a very categorical statement of policy pledging maintenance of the social laws, repression of the fascist movements, etc.

When the Chamber adjourned on January 1, the government declared that the Treasury was sure of a balanced budget and that confidence had been restored, thanks to the financial policy of Radical Minister Georges Bonnet. At that very moment, however, acute social conflicts held the attention of the public. The workers of the Goodrich Tire Co. had occupied their factory and, supported by workers in neighboring plants, had resisted attempts at forceful removal unfortunately ordered by the minister of the interior. The decision of the Municipal Council of Paris, reactionaries in the majority, refusing workers in the public services an adjustment in wages, had caused a general strike in the Paris district on December 29. Conflicts were threatening or had actually broken out in the petroleum and food industries.

Subsequently, one after another of these disputes were settled when, on advice of the General Confederation of Labor, the strikers accepted arbitration decisions.

ON JANUARY 11, when both legislative houses resumed their sessions, there remained no more, or at least hardly any, labor disputes. Now, instead, a speculative attack was launched against the franc. M. Chautemps then mounts the tribune and in terms permitting of no ambiguity informs the deputies of his intention to depart more and more definitely from the Popular Front. He announces that it is desirable temporarily to renounce the reforms inscribed in that program. Under pressure of a furious attack by big capital, he asserts that the sole concern of his government will be to restore the confidence of the capitalists and he asks the Chamber solemnly to repudiate any exchange control. After some mild admonitions to the fascist Cagoulards, he delivers a number of undisguised threats against the workers' organizations.

It is quite plain that Chautemps had to change the character of his majority in order



Soriano

Camille Chautemps

to carry out this policy. The expulsion of the Communists from the majority would be the first step along the path of this repudiation. And when Arthur Ramette, the Communist spokesman, described the feelings with which the Communists greeted the statements of the Premier, Chautemps uttered the words which determined the resignation of the Socialist ministers: "I return their liberty to the Communists."

Putting the blame on financial difficulties was only a pretext. So much so, that after his resignation, when Bonnet was commissioned to form a cabinet, Chautemps's first concern was to reassure the Radicals about the treasury situation and to tell them that he would put into his program old age pensions, public works, and fiscal reform.

"But why then did you scare us and provoke the crisis?" naively inquired one Radical deputy. The reply was indeed simple. The crisis, which was justified by nothing at all, was caused on the one hand by the financial and industrial oligarchies who are not disposed to accept the state of things since the strikes of June 1936, and on the other, by the influence directly exerted on the Chautemps government by the City, London's Wall Street.

In June 1936 after the disciplined and peaceful strike movement, a mass of social legislation was quickly voted by both Chamber and Senate. Since then, despite the rise in the cost of living resulting from the stranglehold of the trusts and two currency devaluations, the trade unions have advised the working class to exercise prudence and a spirit of concession. The Communists supported this policy of prudence.

The words of Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the Communist Party, may be cited: "It is necessary to know how to end a strike."

The General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) did its utmost to facilitate the work of the two Popular Front governments. Some months ago it declared that two primary causes of conflict had to be eliminated if social peace was to be attained: regulation of the employment and discharge of workers, and a flexible wage scale.

The Chautemps government committed a serious error when it delayed the application of these two measures. It thus encouraged the employers to decide to rescind one by one the social gains of June 1936. In many cases, production has been deliberately sabotaged. The Confederation of Employers, directed by M. Gignoux and Baron Petiet, has become a combat organization definitely allied with the fascist Cagoulards, who, notwithstanding, had planted bombs in the building of the Confederation last September.

On January 8, M. Chautemps called a conference of the C.G.T. and the Confederation of Employers to work out a code of labor. The C.G.T. accepted the invitation. M. Gignoux insolently refused. And yet, it was against the C.G.T. that M. Chautemps directed his thunder on January 15 in the Chamber of Deputies.

The crisis was provoked by the capitulation of M. Chautemps to the demands of the big employers. These demands were reinforced by a sort of ultimatum from the banks of London's City. Although most of the reforms advocated by the French Popular Front on social matters were carried out, the British Tories have persistently tried for months to disrupt the French Popular Front. The leaders in the anti-Popular Front offensive, such as M. Flandin, are in close alliance with the Germanophile circles in the British cabinet. The situation of M. Chautemps which led to the crisis was preceded by a long conversation between the Premier and Sir Eric Phipps, the British ambassador to France. The English conservatives feel that the disruption of the French Popular Front is the precondition for the new orientation desired by them in French foreign policy, an orientation which means putting the Franco-Soviet pact into cold storage, and stopping all action against the French fascists, thus permitting an early rapprochement with the Germany of Hitler and the Italy of Mussolini.

BUT what was not taken into account, either by the money powers in France or the conservatives in England, is the tremendous strength of the Popular Front among the basic masses of the people. Hardly had the crisis broken out when throughout the country there rose a

single cry, in the cities and in the countryside, in the homes and factories: "We demand a Popular Front government." Eighty thousand telegrams with this message were received at the Champs Elysées. The popular current was so strong and the demand of the National Committee of the *Rassemblement Populaire* so categorical that M. Bonnet, who had been called by the President of the republic, ran up against Socialist and Communist opposition and, failing to receive the support he wanted from the Radicals, had to give up his attempt to form a government.

LEON BLUM, the Socialist leader, was then called by the President. He proposed the formation of a government of national unification around the Popular Front, extending from the Communist Thorez to the moderate conservative, Paul Reynaud. The Communists, who in the month of August 1936 had projected the conception of a French Front around the program of the Popular Front, accepted Blum's proposal on the sole condition that the govern-

ment so formed would pursue the application of the program.

Blum's proposal fell through because of the demand presented by Reynaud for inclusion in the government of the extreme factions of the reactionary Right linked with the Cagoullards. The Socialist leader, rather than try, as the Communists proposed, to form a government composed of Socialists, Radicals, Communists, and representatives of the C.G.T., gave up the attempt. It was in these circumstances that M. Chautemps formed his government. The second Chautemps government consists of Radicals and Socialist Republicans, though Paul Boncour, president of the Socialist Republican Party (Parti Republicain Socialiste) has refused to support the government. The Socialists, despite the efforts of Blum and the "high command" of the party, have refused to participate in it and gave it their support only by a slender majority.

The Chautemps government, whose genuine statement of policy was given in the Premier's speech of January 15, faces the opposition of

the working class and the most active elements in the Popular Front. The Popular Front remains most active throughout the country where a rapid rapprochement is being effected between the Socialists and Communists, where the National Committee of the *Rassemblement Populaire* demands of Chautemps no change in the character of the majority, and where tremendous meetings and peaceful demonstrations are being held in protest against the offensive of the banks and the employers and the interference of the British Tories in French politics.

The crisis invoked to break the Popular Front has only resulted in a demonstration of its great solidarity.

It can be said that the Popular Front is France and that French democracy does not believe that the Chautemps cabinet represents the will of the country, which demands a government in the true image of the Popular Front, with Communist participation, and determined to carry through the program which was upheld by the vote of the entire people.



School Days

Painting by Tschabasov (A. C. A. Gallery)

Inside Japan in Wartime

From the Diary of a Foreign Resident

NOVEMBER 16, 1937.

ARRIVED at Kobe, Japan's chief port for embarking troops for the Chinese front. The day before the cremated remains of eleven thousand Japanese soldiers (official figures) were brought home. Today several thousand more are leaving for the war. Sixty-five percent of the conscripts, when medically examined, were found to be suffering from venereal diseases, the Japanese newspapers report. At the send-off of these fresh troops, friends and relatives, ordered by the government to give a stirring manifestation of their patriotic fervor, turned up in the hundreds, and, to the distress of the authorities, gave an unexpected and remarkable exhibition of grief. Many mothers, tearfully clinging to their sons as they marched along the quay to the transport ships, were forcibly dragged away.

A similar scene, which ended in a ghastly tragedy, was witnessed the other day in Tokyo. A train ran into a crowd of Japanese people assembled to send off their sons, husbands, lovers, and brothers, and killed many of them. There was such a mess of blood and flesh on the rails that the authorities poured kerosene over the remains and burnt them. At least, this is a story told by the English residents of Japan, who also aver that the street cars in Tokyo, only a few days ago, were carrying posters which declared, "Drive the English west of Hongkong."

Kobe, for the last few months, has been a scene of great activity, veiled in secrecy. Trains en route from there to Nagasaki pass the fortified zone near Moji with drawn blinds. At almost every junction secret-service agents board the trains and inspect passports.

The several large steel plants in the district work incessantly in two shifts of twelve hours each. At least ten ships arrive at Kobe daily, and fleets of barges meet them to unload the cargo of scrap iron and other war materials destined for the factory melting pots.

Extreme severity is being practiced by the Japanese government toward the "unpatriotic" elements, and the prisons are already filled with those people who are considered to have failed to do their share for their country. All mail is being strictly censored, and few people dare write of actual conditions there for fear of being deported or imprisoned. The only show of patriotism one sees is government-subsidized groups of young men and women who appear at stations and docks with banners and bands to see off the nation's troops. The rest of the populace, for the most part, displays an attitude of terrified silence, and in their faces one can read the hardships they are already beginning to suffer

and the real state of their feelings in regard to the whole matter. In spite of government declarations about the unity of the nation, nothing is done for the families of soldiers killed in action. It is therefore not surprising to find that the enthusiasm for the war is confined to newspapers, propaganda films, and official dispatches.

NOVEMBER 18.

ARRIVED at Yokohama, after an absence of over a year. Walked around the shops and found that prices had risen considerably since last year. Even restaurant prices, though still cheap enough for Europeans, have gone up about 20 percent. In the Nozawaya department store I noticed gas masks for sale. Even these are to be a source of profit. In the post office I noticed the usual war-time posters. Also a special issue of war stamps to raise funds for more armaments. In the evening there was a complete blackout for air-raid practice. This, I was told, had been repeated for six nights in succession.

I went around to the White Horse Bar and chatted with Mariko, an attractive Japanese girl there who, until recently, was a licensed prostitute in the Hotel Kyo. I spoke about the Kyo and asked her why she had left. She said she had got fed up with sleeping with anybody that came along. She admitted that she was not earning quite so much now that she had given up prostitution, for the latter, in modern Japan, is the only trade in which a woman can earn a decent standard of living.

An ordinary waitress in a restaurant earns somewhat less than two dollars a week. In a brothel a girl can earn as much as that in a night. It is therefore not surprising to find that most of the waitresses in the big towns, especially Tokyo, are young girls of about fourteen or fifteen, and very rarely attractive; while in the brothels and the bars, which are almost as profitable as the brothels, one finds not only the best-looking girls in Japan but also the most intelligent, many university students working in this profession. It is simply a matter of economics, explained Mariko.

It is significant that none of the Japanese to whom I spoke, and I spoke to a good many during my stay in Japan, mentioned the Chinese Communists, or said anything about Japan's being a bulwark against Communism in the East. This topic is still taboo, and no one cares to talk about it, not even to attack it.

It is, I suppose, not surprising, in view of the stranglehold of Japanese propaganda over a large part of the Japanese population, to

find the man in the street putting forward some naïve reasons for the Japanese government's attempt to conquer China. And this, of course, is helped forward by the fact that the parliamentary opposition party, the so-called "proletarian" Social-Mass Party, has declared its complete support of the Japanese government in its prosecution of the war.

Walking around Yokohama I was struck by the large number of Japanese flags flying outside houses and shops. I was told that these indicated that a member of that particular household, shop, or establishment is fighting at the front. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the number of flags in the poorer districts exceed by far those in the residential quarters; for in Japan, as in any other capitalist country, it is always the proletariat which does the dirty work for the capitalist ruling class.

NOVEMBER 20-22.

SPEAKING with British residents in Japan I found that a surprisingly reactionary attitude toward the war prevailed among most of them. Nearly all of them stated that the Chinese were to blame for the war; that they had "asked for it." In this way the British residents especially try to give credence to the Japanese lie that the war was forced upon them by Chinese "provocation." They admire very much the "strong attitude" (British residents abroad always seem to find admiration for fascism and its methods) adopted by Japan, and assert that the "Japs will make a better job of China than the Chinks could ever do." So Japanophile are some of these residents that they go so far as to declare that they would prefer to see Hongkong in Japanese hands. "They would make it a much more lively place." By which they mean, they would probably allow even more cabarets and brothels to be established there. At the same time, these English residents are afraid of Japan's becoming too powerful, especially in view of the increased anti-British propaganda which is now being carried on in Japan.

Their attitude betrays the usual confusion that exists in the minds of reactionaries in their effort to reconcile their national imperialist sympathies with their international class sympathies. We have seen how British reactionaries have, in the interest of their class, allowed European fascism to gain a foothold in Spain and thereby threaten Britain's power in the Mediterranean. And similarly, some are quite prepared to allow Japan to become a threat to the British empire in the East, so eager are they to see strangled this democratic war by the masses of China. At the

same time, they are rather resentful of Japan's attitude toward England, which they tend to regard as gross ingratitude. They feel that Japan isn't playing the game. After all, the British government has always allowed Japan a fairly free hand, and has even encouraged her in her systematic dismemberment of China. Japan, they feel, has no cause to forget this sympathetic attitude.

They do not realize that rival imperialisms have no reason to remember past favors. And for this reason they are, strangely enough, doing their own empire a disservice, writing pro-Japanese articles in the *Japan Advertiser*, *Oriental Affairs*, and other publications, all in the vain hope that Japan will "make a deal" with Great Britain for the further exploitation of the Chinese people.

NOVEMBER 24.

FIFTEEN hundred members of the Young Men's Patriotic Association gathered today at the Yokohama Municipal Park to celebrate the signing of the anti-Comintern pact. After the rally in the park, I watched the members of the Y.M.P.A., led by their band and carrying huge Nazi and Italian flags, march through the streets of Yokohama, first to the German consulate where they were greeted by J. Christians, acting German consul, and his staff, then to the Italian consulate to be greeted by Consul Alfredo de Prospero. At both consulates *banzais* were given for the fascist signatories to the pact, and their respective national anthems were played.

I bought a copy of the Hokuseido Press publication, *The China Incident and Japan*. It contains a rather significant quotation from a recent speech by the Japanese premier, Prince Konoe:

The government is introducing to the Imperial Diet urgent budgetary and legislative measures. In these measures the government seeks to adopt a financial and economic structure for coping with the extraordinary situation. We are ready, however, to take all possible precautions to avoid unnecessary shock to financial circles.

The inference is obvious and needs no stressing.

NOVEMBER 25.

WENT up to Tokyo, mainly to witness the huge gathering arranged to celebrate the anti-Comintern pact. Huge flags, Nazi, Italian, and Japanese, sprouted from almost every building, like a host of riotous flowers. In order to pass a quiet morning I booked a room at the Hasima Hotel, and then went for a stroll along Jinbocho, the Broadway of Tokyo.

In spite of the anti-Comintern pact and the long-time adopted suppression of "dangerous thought" in Japan, I noticed works in English and other languages by Marx, Engels, and others. And even the daily papers advertised the publication by a Japanese firm of the

Webbs' *Soviet Communism* along with other Left books. The Japanese police have repeatedly displayed this strange inability to do the job for which their capitalist rulers pay them. As a matter of fact, for quite a long time there was in existence in Tokyo, almost opposite the government-controlled Imperial University, a workers' bookshop full of Marxist literature. And, further, when I was in Tokyo last year, I witnessed a Soviet film, *Soldiers of Fortune*, during the course of which the entire audience, on the appearance of Stalin on the screen, stood up and cheered enthusiastically for several minutes. In spite of the attempts to stamp out Communism, the vanguard of the Japanese proletariat still persists in its great struggle with the Japanese ruling class.

In the afternoon I proceeded to the Korakuen baseball stadium where the anti-Comintern gathering was due to take place. Crowds of school children with flags, mainly Nazi ones, were marching through the streets of Tokyo.

Even little children of four and five assembled at the big department stores, and furiously waved Nazi and fascist flags. You see, that's what they were told to do. They obviously didn't know what it was all about. No more did the non-class-conscious members of the adult population.

I arrived at the stadium at about half-past one, an hour before the ceremony was scheduled to begin. The stands were already half full, mainly with school children and members of youth organizations, which had been given government orders to attend the gathering. Thousands more marched in, mainly schoolboys and students in their dark-blue uniforms. Most of these occupied the ground of the stadium itself.

As each person entered, he was handed a flimsy flag or two, Nazi, Italian, or Japanese. Most of the people there seemed to have taken Nazi flags. I myself was handed a Japanese flag by a soldier on duty at the entrance to the stands, and, as I wished to get in, I took the proffered flag—and destroyed it as soon as I was out of his sight. By about two o'clock the stands were absolutely full, but as the majority of those in attendance had come at the orders of the government, only about five thousand ordinary people were allowed to enter.

In order to work up a certain amount of mass hysteria before the speeches and ceremonies began, two airplanes, trailing a streamer of the flags of the three countries, flew over the stadium, dipping down into the midst of the eighty thousand people there. Each time the airplanes swooped down, over a hundred thousand flags (for many people had two flags and some even three) were waved frantically for about two minutes to the accompaniment of a hysterical burst of cheering.

For a moment I forgot where I was, so unusual was the effect produced. But the cheering soon died down, and the flag-waving ceased, and I then had another look at the people surrounding me. It seemed to me that

many of them had probably been brought there by the promise of a free meal. At any rate, it was obvious that they were treating the whole affair as a huge circus. Once more I was forced to conclude that they just don't know what is happening. They simply don't know. . . .

There was an obvious lack of enthusiasm over the speeches, which mainly confined themselves to attacking Communism as being "incompatible with the finer feelings of humanity." After about an hour of this sort of thing, the crowd became restless and began to file out. I followed suit and drove back to my hotel.

I noticed on the way that two picture houses—the Musasino-kan, Sinzyuku, and the Taisyo-kan, Asakusa—were showing that well-known reactionary film, *Red Salute*, just to create the impression that the United States thinks the same way as Germany, Italy, and Japan. At the Takarazuka Theater, Tokyo's opera house, a war revue, *Air-Raid on Nanking*, was being shown.

The papers the following morning reported that meetings similar to the one in Tokyo had taken place at Kobe, Osaka, and other towns in Japan. And a few days later, the Tokyo *Nichi Nichi* came out with a special illustrated supplement in commemoration of the tripartite anti-Comintern pact's conclusion. It was not at all surprising to find anti-Communist articles written for this supplement by leading businessmen, such as the president of the Nakayama Steel Works, the president of the Rasa Industry Co., the president of the Toyo Rayon Co., Ltd., and the president of Yamaguchi Goshi Kaisha—all glibly adopting the cause of "humanity and justice" against the "evil curse of Communism." Similar articles were contributed by the presidents of the chambers of commerce of Kobe and Osaka.

It is obvious that big business is the keenest opponent of Communism in Japan, as indeed it is in any other capitalist country.

NOVEMBER 27.

SOME consternation was caused among the authorities in Yokohama today, when the police discovered seditious pamphlets hidden in the cargo of ships recently returned from American ports. Seized copies of the pamphlets, written in Japanese, include Lenin's *Socialism and War*; *The 1936-37 Maritime Strike on the Pacific Coast*; *The Truth About the North China Incident and an Appeal to the Japanese People Concerning the China Incident*. It may be that the Japanese authorities are lying, but they state that these pamphlets have been placed on board Japanese vessels by American Communists. At the same time, it must be realized that, if the pamphlets had actually been planted by "unpatriotic" Japanese Communists, it would obviously be better propaganda to attribute the matter to outside sources and so give the impression that Japan is more united than she actually is.

A Slide Rule on Poetry

By Robert Zachs

I HAVE been following the controversy about sterility of poetry with great interest. It seemed to me that a detailed study of the contents of some poetry magazines was necessary and would aid in arriving at a conclusion. I have analyzed 389 poems appearing in an outstanding poetry magazine during the year 1937, on the basis of the subject of the poem. The headings of the classifications were not made first and the subjects of the poems forced to comply with them; rather have the headings of each group grown out of the analysis naturally. The magazine is *Westward* and was chosen because of its eleven years of existence.

THE GENERAL OUTLINES of classification that arose from the analysis are as follows: DESCRIPTIVE, POETRY OF FRUSTRATION, ESCAPIST POETRY, LOVE POETRY, and MISCELLANEOUS. Please note that the last group is broken down in the analysis to its component parts. As will be seen, all these general headings were broken down into sub-headings. "Descriptive" poetry is poetry of sheer description of some object of nature. "Poetry of frustration" may bring a howl of rage from many people. But I welcome debate on the title. The subdivision headings of this class of poetry are the arguments which will defend my selection of the title.

"Escapist" poetry and "love" poetry may be considered designations which have already been accepted by most poets. Here, too, the titles of sub-classifications explain themselves.

"Miscellaneous" is a title under which are included poems that might tend to break

up the other classifications. This, too, is broken down and analyzed.

Here is the complete tabulated study of 389 poems analyzed:

<i>Descriptive Poetry</i>	
Poems describing night, and sunsets.....	8
"Earth is our mother" poems.....	12
Description of seasons (Summer, 2; Autumn, 3; Winter, 4; Spring, 16)	25
General description (flowers, trees, etc.).....	90
Total descriptive poems	135

<i>Poetry of Frustration</i>	
Poems on disillusionment with friends.....	8
"How quick happiness fades," "Life has been wasted," and "I am resigned to my fate" poems	14
Poems stating personal bewilderment with life.	4
Poems stating author's loneliness and unhappiness	10
Poems describing emotional or other disaster..	2
Poems about old age, death, and "Look beyond the grave for happiness".....	14
Total poems of frustration.....	52

<i>Poetry of "Escapism" and Hope*</i>	
"Don't worry, things will be better" poems....	15
Religious, "Have courage," and "Find comfort in God" poems.....	30
Dreams about some private magic island.....	6
Dreams of escape by travel and wandering....	7
Total escapist poems.....	58
Poems about historical persons and themes....	10

<i>Love Poetry</i>	
"Come on, let's live" poems.....	6
"My heart is broken," "Good-bye, sweetheart," and "I too once loved" poems.....	30
Poems on love from, or for, or about parents, and about the sacredness of parenthood.....	11
Descriptions of sweetheart's face, hands, mind, etc.	8
"Why can't I find love?" "Isn't love splendid?" and "I'm through with love" poems.....	27
Total love poems	82
"I am content" and "Isn't life wonderful" poems	10

<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
War poems (descriptive, and "Isn't it terrible?" types)	4
Poem telling how lazy a Negro is.....	1
Poem telling how sweet quintuplets are.....	1
Poem honoring the builder of Golden Gate bridge	1
Offers and memories of friendship.....	7
Poems of which I couldn't make head or tail..	12
Poem defending democracy	1

*I must qualify this title in that it is really a false hope that is held forth. In not a single one of these very few false-hope poems is any concrete suggestion or worthwhile fact made to support hope.

Unclassifiable (amusing and unimportant)....	12
Poem (very daring) saying a revolution means change	1
Total miscellaneous	40
Total poems	389

In examining these facts the following stand out with demanding clarity. Fully 35 percent of the entire year's poems were of a sheer descriptive nature. Since the beginning of the English language this type of poem has been in the sweatshop class, long hours and low pay. If all the poems describing a tree, or the dawn, or a buttercup, were laid end to end, they would reach from here to infinity. I think I may say honestly, that such poetry is indeed sterile.

Another full 20 percent of the output was on the ageless subject of love. Now it is quite possible to write of love from a worker's viewpoint rather than from a middle-class viewpoint. But all these poems were middle-class. Whether or not they can be classed as sterile, depends on your viewpoint. But from an impartial position it seems to me that since the angles of love dealt with are so old, so stale, so decaying, the poetry is indeed sterile. Do not cry that love can never be an old, decaying subject, for I agree with you. But love poetry such as this, which deals *ad nauseam* with the old theme of "my heart is broken" is decaying as surely as rotten fruit in a garbage can. A fresh, novel approach on love is needed and to find it you must turn to different sources.

So far, we see that a total of 55 percent of a full year's poems in this magazine were worthless, from the viewpoint of subject matter. We now see that another 15 percent deals with frustration (examine the subclassifications) and still another 15 percent is escapist and religious, which is another form of escapist poetry. Total so far, 85 percent. The miscellaneous poems need no further explanation.

IN THE LIGHT of these facts, can poetry as a whole be condemned? Before we judge we must examine other magazines on the same basis as we have examined this one. We must also consider that the contents of a poetry magazine depend on the point of view of the editor. It is quite possible that excellent poetry is floating about which never gets into print. The editor of the magazine just analyzed states in one of his issues, "There is a pleasing absence of note of social protest now so prevalent among contemporaneous writers. . . ." Which probably means that the new poets are getting wise as to their outlets.



Thompson M. Funk

READERS' FORUM

For a "Chamber of Horrors"

TO THE NEW MASSES:

IT IS a curious thing and a dangerous one, too, that American citizens, desiring to rent space in an American Fair to advance the American principles of peace and democracy as opposed to foreign theories of war and fascism, are denied what our Constitution states is an elementary right.

Strange rules are these by which the World's Fair Committee permits foreign countries to erect exhibitions propagandizing themselves while denying this to native organizations like the Joint Boycott Council of the American Jewish Congress. It is only a makeshift excuse to state as Mr. Whalen did that, "There has been no indication of any thought on the part of any one of them of introducing exhibits that would in any degree serve the purposes of political propaganda." It seems that the rules also would prevent this.

If this argument is well meant, it is incredibly naïve. It is childlike to assume that the exhibit of any nation will not be a reflection of its culture, traditions and politics. It is obvious that the exhibits of each nation are designed to attract the tourist trade and to popularize their native industries and, as a matter of course, the government.

What could there be in a Nazi exhibit but regimented art, regimented industry and regimented lies? The shadow of Hitler's "Mein Kampf" must inevitably drape the exhibit. It is inconceivable to think of the exhibition as anything but an exhibition of fascism.

We hope that Mr. Whalen does not desire this. But that is what he is going to have as surely as Hitler and Mussolini are carrying on a war of aggression in Spain today. Like the recent Olympics, the German buildings in New York's World Fair will be one great fascist advertising blurb.

Our organization is in emphatic agreement with the Joint Boycott Council's desire to expose Nazidom's lies by an exhibition very appropriately called a "Chamber of Horrors." At this point we express our earnest desire to cooperate with the Joint Boycott Council and assert that Young Communist League members will be ready to join the Council's picket line in the event that one is established in front of the Nazi buildings.

JOHN LITTLE, *Executive Sec'y,*
Young Communist League of
New York State

A Genteel Gathering

TO THE NEW MASSES:

REALIZING that you-all are always interested in the welfare and fulminations of that irresponsible Irish wit and genealogist, James T. Farrell, it gives me exceptional pleasure to report that my Winchellian snoop-hounds have unearthed and brought home a choice bit from the sassiest columns of ye old Virginia daily, ye *Alexandria Gazette*.

"SPOTLIGHT: on Saturday evening a select little party of friends at the Eddie Gilmores to meet author James T. Farrell, who wrote the successful book—*World I Never Made*. . . Mr. Farrell has been in Washington gathering material for a new work, and has now returned to New York City . . . guests for the evening included Mrs. Royal S. Copeland, the James B. Powells, the Jack W. Joshins, the Roger Hawthornes, the Maurice Reises, the Rodney Southwicks, Miss Aurie Schwarz and Mr. John Maloney . . . a little dark gen'lman of the south did a bit of 'big apple-ing' and uke-strumming for

the entertainment of all, and there was food and drink to top off the evening!"

A word of explanation is necessary in order to appreciate the cultural and social aspects of genteel Virginia society accepting James T. Farrell to its sterile bosom. The particular society entertaining Mr. Farrell does not represent the F.F.V.'s (who seldom read anything deeper than *Gone with the Wind* or *Little Women*), but a new intellectual group that beat a leisurely exodus from Washington to the historic town across the river. Why? First, because nobody knew they were in Washington—they merely plopped and glittered like a raindrop on the ocean. Second, because some slick real-estate salesmen forced a lot of poor families out of poorer dwellings into worse slums and put a coat of paint, green shutters, and brass door-knockers on the former slum dwellings and sold them to gullible newspaper folks and New Dealers as authentic Colonial houses with a history. Well, in a way the houses do have a history. During prohibition they were inhabited by booze peddlers, pimps, poor folks, and prostitutes; in earlier days (not Colonial) these houses were grog shops and whorehouses patronized by sailors when Alexandria was on the map as a port instead of a period.

However, the odors of Stark Young, James Branch Cabell, Richard Halliburton, and Robert E. Lee still linger in the old timbers—a faint nostalgia for the old days sneaks up and swats all the well-fed and well-paid newspaper folk in the seat of their pants, and they try to bring back that good old era of mint-juleps and cavaliers, when conditions were so good the slaves revolted with courageous regularity against their kind masters, and Nat Turner was given to the world. Perhaps it was not significant that James T. Farrell and Richard Halliburton attacked Alexandria at the same time, but when the Third Estate opens its heart and portals to entertain distinguished guests with food and drink and a dancing "little dark gen'lman of the South," we can see the old days coming back across the cobble-stone streets covered with asphalt, and we only hope these cultured folk on the banks of the Potomac take up the old habit of snuff-dipping and sneeze their heads off.

Alexandria, Va. "RECONSTRUCTED REBEL."

Writers' and Readers' Writers

TO THE NEW MASSES:

I AGREE quite fully with the letter on poetry by Lee Hays in the issue of January 11. In the same issue (Literary Section) there appeared a brilliant essay entitled "When Poets Stood Alone" by Dorothy Van Ghent. The letter was easy, toothsome reading—it was doubtless dashed off in an inspired mood, and like things done in this way, it breathes inspiration to the reader. The essay, on the other hand, is difficult to read and obviously belabored. The author must have spent months polishing this brilliant diamond and, like a diamond, it nourishes neither the stomach nor the mind.

Lee Hays is exactly right, too, in calling on Mike Gold to do battle with the "demons" that prevent the readers of NEW MASSES from getting good poetry to read, for Mike is about the only one who has the proper contempt for "cerebration"—the word is Mike's—although I think that is insulting the cerebrums that try to cerebration into a comprehension of most of this poetry and some prose like Dorothy Van Ghent's.

The NEW MASSES has come to be a splendid magazine, although I am sure its present splendor will pale before its future glory—thanks, I think, to its ability to get such straight-from-the-shoulder reactions as that of Lee Hays. Letters like that—from mere readers, not writers—are the true touchstone of a magazine's health.

And in making that distinction between readers and writers, I believe I have touched on the heart of the subject. A magazine like the NEW MASSES, I am sure, is intended to be a readers', not a writers', magazine. There are readers' writers and writers'

writers. Mike Gold is at all times a readers' writer—and great literature is all of this kind, readers' writing.

Why should poetry be wrapped in cacophony and incomprehensibility? If Wordsworth could write—I quote the substance of what the late English critic, George Saintsbury, said about the poet's "Ode on Intimations of Immortality"—the greatest poem in the English language although it doesn't make sense, why cannot we have better poems in the NEW MASSES when the poets have at their disposal material that makes the best sense in the world! For my part I miss the poetry of Hayes that used to adorn the pages of NEW MASSES. Writing in the conventional forms with "straight" English, it is my belief that Hayes has done the most memorable work in the poetic field that has yet appeared in the NEW MASSES.

That word "memorable" is another key-word for me. What is it that makes for distinction in literature, in music, in all art if it is not this feeling of memorableness of the thing seen, heard, or read? The first time one ever heard the *Blue Danube*, for example—and, yes, the strains of the *Internationale*, too—it seemed that one had *always* heard them. The same is true of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, of the celebrated passages of Shakespeare, of the formulations of Marx and Engels, the incisive summations of Lenin and Stalin.

Poetry, along with music, is peculiarly the art that springs from the bosom of the people. And what the people love in art and life is that which possesses this "memorable" quality—as of something that has always been and will always be.

Chicago, Illinois.

IRA BENSON.

The Sixty Families

TO THE NEW MASSES:

PROFESSOR R. K. LAMB's analysis of Lundberg's book on the Sixty Families is the kind of discriminating review for which we look to the NEW MASSES. No better review of this book is likely to appear in any paper.

Shortcomings of the Lundberg book, as pointed out by Dr. Lamb, suggest a comparison with the Marxist book, *Rulers of America: A Study of Finance Capital*, by Anna Rochester of Labor Research Association. (International Publishers, 1936.) I read the Rochester book with deepest interest and did not find in it any of the shortcomings that are apparent in *America's Sixty Families*.

Where, as Lamb explained, "Lundberg's treatment of the leading families is inadequate to the complexities of the set-up," Rochester's analysis does give the reader "comprehension of the relationship between families and corporations by way of banks and other control institutions."

I commend *Rulers of America* to those who have read *America's Sixty Families* and to all those who want to understand more fully how and why a plutocracy controls the United States.

LAWRENCE MAYER.

Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Hague and Hague

TO THE NEW MASSES:

IS this man Hague that the New York *World-Telegram* is writing about any relation to the Hague that has been the subject of a series in the New York *Post*? I note the address given in each newspaper is the same, but on comparing these two dossiers offered concurrently to the reading public, I confess to a slight feeling of dizziness. There must be some mistake, and I am anxiously waiting to see what the *World-Telegram's* Hague is going to do about it. He certainly owes it to Mr. Roy Howard, as well as to himself, to make the public understand that the *World-Telegram's* upright and successful Mr. Hague belongs in an entirely different world from the *Post's* disreputable character.

New York.

MARGARET WRIGHT MATHER.

BOOK REVIEWS

In Quest of Freedom

THE WILD GOOSE CHASE, by Rex Warner. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.
POEMS, by Rex Warner. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.

THE simultaneous publication of a novel and a volume of verse by Rex Warner introduces to American readers another writer who is associated with the Auden-Spender-Lewis group. That the remarkable work of the *New Country* and *New Signatures* contributors was not a flash in the pan, as some observers persistently rumor, is indicated not only by the superb quality of Auden's recent work (*Spain, Letters from Iceland*), but by the unusual ability of such less familiar figures as Christopher Isherwood, Louis MacNiece, John Lehmann, and other writers whose work appears in the semi-annual collection, *New Writing*. These two books by Warner—and especially the novel—further illustrate the imaginative energy and versatility of the younger left-wing writers in England.

The Wild Goose Chase places once more in the foreground of discussion that strikingly unfortunate term, the "fable." Much of the talk which has revolved around the literary phenomenon which that term is intended to name has suffered from absence of extended definition, and it is devoutly to be hoped that the literary issues implicit in the brief comments which have already appeared in the *NEW MASSES* will soon receive fuller treatment. Meanwhile, it is appropriate to inform the reader that Warner is quoted by his publishers to have said that "The only modern novelist I like is Kafka. . . ."

This statement, I feel, is symptomatic of that exaggerated impression of Kafka's importance for contemporary fiction which Spender spread in England a few years ago and which has made the discussion of Kafka's genuine and original talent so awkward in this country. At the same time, this type of exaggeration calls attention to the important fact that not a few writers of undoubted talent regard the naturalistic method in fiction as oppressive (within the memory of this generation it was hailed as "emancipatory"). I suspect that some of these writers are confusing naturalism with its less gifted practitioners. There is, at any rate, a movement away from the restrictions of "photographic literalisms" of which Thomas Wolfe's announcement about the nature of his new novel (sections have appeared in the *NEW MASSES* literary section of January 11) is only the most recent instance. And this movement, which has complex sources in contemporary society as well as in literary tradition, requires evaluation. The increasing preoccupa-

tion with the "myth" and the "legend," it is perhaps safe to predict, will lead in two general and opposite directions. For some writers anti-literalism will be the high road to a new literary mysticism; for others, one hopes, it will be an approach to an enriched realism. There will be a gathering compulsion in criticism to distinguish between the poetic penetration into reality which Mann is attempting in the Joseph cycle, for example, and the sickening retreat from reality exemplified by Cabell's dreary legend of Poictesme. Moreover, a disciplined exercise of critical language becomes imperative when Sinclair Lewis's "realism" degenerates into what is certainly a fable in the vulgar sense, and when Rex Warner's "allegory" turns into a searching commentary on capitalist society.

The Wild Goose Chase is obviously indebted to *The Castle* and *The Trial*. But what makes it so noteworthy is not its mechanical adaptation of Kafka's tortured inconclusiveness—indeed the novel suffers in those passages where such adaptation leads to a literalism of its own—but its assimilation of Kafka's fluid apperceptions to the native tradition of satirical political allegory in *Gulliver's Travels* and *Erewhon*. Warner escapes from the shut rooms and endless corridors to

the sunlight and the fields. He combines with Kafka's elaborate analysis of terror and frustration, Swift's animated narrative of adventure and wonder. Kafka could find for his Mr. K. no other escape from the weighty burden of his mysterious superiors than the oblivion of death. The climax of Warner's novel is the invigorating seizure of power from their oppressors by the workers and peasants. Swift, in *A Tale of a Tub*, objectified through allegory the historical force of the church's doctrinal deviations; Butler investigated the Victorian compromise in his land of Nowhere, in which the "colleges of Unreason" taught the "hypothetical language"; and Warner, in *The Wild Goose Chase*, gives in imaginatively symbolic terms the diagnosis and prescription for the pathology of fascism.

The precise meaning of the Wild Goose is never explicitly formulated in the novel, but it is apparent from the context that it symbolizes such virtues as freedom and courage and strength. It is certainly one of the failings of the novel that this symbol embodies a concept of individual emancipation which, as in Kafka, reduces itself to a mystical transaction between the individual and the universe. With its "mysterious barbaric love" the Wild Goose represents the never-quenched spirit of individual yearning for the ideal, which in Warner's poems, as in Lawrence's, is too frequently befuddled with the image of "the blood." This is not, however, the crucial point of the novel. It is the immediate road on which men must travel before they can even begin to feel as individuals that Warner has portrayed. And this is the road of social revolution.

The three brothers who set out on bicycles to discover the Wild Goose represent three generalized personalities. Rudolph is a sportsman and adventurer of the Kipling type, indifferent to ideas, spurred by love of action and fame. David, the bookish favorite of the local clergyman, is an aesthete, a scholar of ambiguous sex who despises the vulgarity of real existence. And George is a plain, honest, common-sense fellow; he is impatient with the social injustices which Rudolph covers up with self-confident bluff and David with metaphysical fumbling; his favorite authors, as he later tells his shocked inquisitioners, are Shakespeare, Karl Marx, Fielding in *Tom Jones*, and Isaiah.

On their journey to the "frontier" the brothers separate. George encounters a fantastic pedant who lives the life of a recluse tending two flowerbeds, of which one contains all the flowers mentioned in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* of Virgil, and the other all the posies that "in happier times" were culled by Elizabethan lovers. The intellectual debasement of the academic isolationist (Warner himself is a teacher of Latin and

Recently Recommended Books

- Red Star over China*, by Edgar Snow. Random. \$3. (Book Union Selection for January.)
America's Sixty Families, by Ferdinand Lundberg. Vanguard. \$3.75.
Two Wars and More to Come, by Herbert L. Matthews. Carrick & Evans. \$2.50.
Contemporary Mexican Artists, by Augustin Velasquez Chavez. Covici-Friede. \$2.75.
Marc Anthony, by Jack Lindsay. Dutton. \$3.75.
Letters from Iceland, by W. H. Auden and Louis MacNiece. Random. \$3.
Old Hell, by Emmett Gowen. Modern Age. Cloth, 85c. Paper, 25c.
Madame Curie, by Eve Curie. Translated by Vincent Sheean. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.50.
Six Centuries of Fine Prints, by Carl Zigrosser. Covici-Friede. \$5.
Young Henry of Navarre, by Heinrich Mann. Knopf. \$3.
The Pretender, by Lion Feuchtwanger. Viking. \$2.50.
The Flivver King, by Upton Sinclair. United Automobile Workers of America. Also by the author, Pasadena, Cal. 25c.
Ralph Fox: A Writer in Arms, edited by John Lehmann, T. A. Jackson, and C. Day Lewis. International. \$1.75.
Labor Agitator: The Story of Albert Parsons, by Alan Calmer. International. 35c.
The Civil War in the United States, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. International. \$2.50.
Engels on Capital, translated and edited by Leonard E. Mins. International. \$1.25.

Greek, and he must know the type) is portrayed with unforgettable irony.

Across the border George discovers a country which is the imaginative prototype of the imperialist and fascist state. Even before he gets to the Town he learns from the revolutionary leaders of the peasants the dangers that he, as a man with a conscience, will confront. He goes to the Town to see for himself. There he finds that David has already convinced himself through the logic of opportunism that the stuffed Goose on the steeple is the genuine article, and that Rudolph has developed the megalomania of an aviator for whom time and space have lost their meaning. In the Convent, where intellectual novices are compelled to undergo an operation initiating them into the dubious bliss of hermaphroditism, George learns that truth has become a type-written note from an invisible dictator.

In one of the most compelling passages of the book, George is selected by the powers that be to referee a football match. Somewhat bewildered when he is given the final score by the authorities before the game has even started, he determines to be fair, despite the possible sacrifice of his life. But the game takes place on a rubber field, and when, contrary to instructions, he hands the ball to the doomed team, the field begins to stretch out as the "wrong" team carries the ball to the goal. This parable of justice in a capitalist society is one of the most impressive I have read anywhere. It is equaled in this book only by the scene in which the military defenders of the Town invent one ingenious trick after another in a vain effort to defeat the revolutionists whom George had joined after his escape from the Convent. These passages, written in a superbly sensitive prose, are required reading for anybody who is interested in the experimental treatment of familiar themes in revolutionary fiction.

The characters are multiplied throughout the book, but they are always carefully differentiated: the priest, Reverend Hamlet, who poses as a friend of the peasant but who is in reality a spy for the oppressors; the renegade Alfred who, as Lenin said of Trotsky, mouths left phrases while making a bloc with the Right against the Left; the steadfast peasant Andria, who developed from a slave of the spoiled tyrant Koresipoulos to a loyal and courageous leader of the revolutionists; Freda Harrison, the leader of an earlier rebellion in which she had lost her life when the rulers, through a stratagem, turned workers against one another; and others too numerous to be mentioned.

Suspended though we are from realism in the ordinary sense, we cannot help feeling the reality of the conflict which ends in revolutionary victory. The poetic treatment of the situation does not rob the novel of the power to convince. And I for one feel that *The Wild Goose Chase* goes a long way toward achieving what Warner has elsewhere said he would like to see the novel do: "I should like to see the characters of the novel invested with



"It's a scorching denunciation of the Communist Party's shameful capitulation to the bourgeoisie. I've sold it to Hearst."

the kind of poetic quality that makes them, in their own way, more, not less, impressive than the characters of everyday life." At times, as in the love episodes involving George and Marqueta, he becomes absorbed in superfluous fantasy. His narrative device, as distinct from the narrative itself, is unnecessarily creaky. The flight of the wild geese over the final scene of celebration is an over-straining of symbolism. But the story as a whole is a welcome event in a literary season which has been so depressingly dull.

In his verse, Warner does not have either Auden's range or his impudent wit, but he does have that vital sense of confidence in life which so clearly separates the younger English poets from Eliot. Though he is primarily a poet of nature, he strives to avoid being what used to be called a nature-poet, a distinction which is implicit in the opening sonnet. Warner reflects "How sweet only to delight lambs and laugh by streams . . . to be a farmer's boy, to be far from battle." But he is bound to men closer than to birds:

How else should I live then but as a kind of fungus,
Or else as one in strict training for desperate war?

He continues to ransack nature for his imagery, and, with Hopkins, to follow the flight of birds in sprung rhythm—but with a difference:

For blight in the meadows, and for our master
builders
Let sickle be a staggerer and hammer heavy.

Warner's contempt for the stifling order of British imperialism is balanced by hope for

a future where men will no longer "fear the sack." That bright future still tends to represent for him, as for other middle-class poets in his group, an escape from the heritage of Harrow and Oxford. Between the "dying order" and the "new world" there is a difficult transition which can be effected only through the full acceptance of a working-class point of view. So far, Rex Warner has weathered the transition bravely.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

The Meaning of Meanings

THE TYRANNY OF WORDS, by Stuart Chase. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$2.50.

ENTHUSIASTIC, superficial, well-timed, *The Tyranny of Words* is sure to have a wide and unhappy influence. For a period it will be impossible to make any general assertion in conversation without having your words jumped on as semantic "blabs." But the book is not harmful for what it says about words. Its advice in that regard could be—in fact usually has been—handed out in any composition course. Beware of emotional fetish-words. Regard as so much nonsense most high-sounding truths that cannot be verified, for which there can be no "operational" check. And don't yourself use abstract terms unless you have definite non-verbal "referents" for them, unless you are using them as a conscious shorthand for groups of dates, figures, facts, for the actions

and ideas of specific men in specific circumstances.

But Stuart Chase has not written this excited book merely to bring Quiller-Couch's famous essay on jargon up to date, or to make publicists and politicians more precise. He feels he has discovered something, a key, a bright light, that will clean away most of our confusions and conflicts. It is semantics, the study of meaning, found in *The Meaning of Meaning*, by Ogden and Richards, and *Science and Sanity*, by Count Korzybski. *The Tyranny of Words* is a rewriting of these two books, leaving out the hard parts, transplanting the simpler illustrations bodily, and adding a great many homely ones of his own (how tired one grows of Hobie Baker, his yellow cat!). As the book develops, involving most of modern science in its explanations, the reader understands the charm that semantics has for Chase, for the book is not only a treatise on the tyranny of words, but also on the tyranny of political ideas, of Marxism, and the struggle against fascism.

"Suppose we try to describe a trained semanticist a decade or more hence. I picture a good-humored young man with quick eyes. . . ." The lad on the cover of *Rising Tide*. For like the Oxford movement or the Douglas plan or any of the panaceas perennially embraced by the hopeful, semantics is something on which all can agree regardless of class. Semantics works by subjecting theories to the test of cold fact; judging by this book three apparently contradicting facts are enough to dispose of any theory, especially if it is stated in the simplest and most mechanical way. The class struggle? That's just a theory that doesn't square with the facts. The good Communist "believes in the class struggle as the good Catholic believes in the immaculate conception." Really there are no classes. For that matter capitalism doesn't exist. "Radicals hate 'capitalism.' But there is no such animal." Political struggles, Chase says, are a battle of goblins; the semanticist eschews politics, his job is to make "citizens more comfortable in a specific situation." The job of this book is to make intellectuals comfortable in a state of political neutrality.

This is particularly clear in Chase's discussion of fascism, for it is no accident that he chooses that word for fullest analysis. He asked forty people in all walks of life what fascism meant to them. He didn't, like a good scientist, check their defining powers generally by also asking them to define a tree or a harmonica. Naturally their replies, although most of them really described what has happened in Germany and Italy, were inarticulate and emotive. But Chase draws the conclusion that it is foolish to talk about fighting fascism when no one really agrees on what it is. If the student of semantics sees a Negro being lynched or armies of Mussolini invading America, he is prepared to fight, but he is not going to "shiver and shake at a word" and try to fight evil spirits. In matters of public concern he reserves opinion, waits for the final judgment of experts. "If the Spanish

situation furnishes no dependable facts, I should prefer to keep my mouth shut. This is hard for people with active brains, but the semantic discipline demands it."

Such asceticism is little in evidence in *The Tyranny of Words*. Chase goes at lightning clip through a number of specialized fields disposing of reputation after reputation with a handful of assertions. Marx was influenced by Hegel, so Hegel must be made to look cheap. "Hegel we remember as the metaphysician who upbraided the astronomers for trying to find more planets when philosophy had established the number at seven for eternity. . . . Perhaps Hegel's chief accomplishment was the reestablishment of the occult properties of the number three." The class struggle, Chase says, was frozen into an absolute by Marx about 1850. "Meanwhile the United States government, controlled by the capitalists, as good Marxists know, gives Mr. John Lewis the opportunity to organize workers, assisted by Governor Murphy of Michigan and Governor Earle of Pennsylvania, while the so-called capitalist press roars for the scalp of President Roosevelt." The semantic discipline did not demand that Chase actually read and quote a Communist analysis of the forces supporting and opposing Roosevelt and of their effect on his policies, and check that by its referents.

To judge *The Tyranny of Words* is not to judge the significance of logical positivism or the work of Ogden and Richards. In his vulgarization Chase has disclaimed all philosophy except a don't-look-beyond-the-end-of-your-nose pragmatism. And yet his approach is idealist as any must be that considers political problems largely a result of man's intellectual failings. It is no news that public language is often meaningless or ambiguous or frankly deceptive. What are important are the psychological and social reasons for this, subjects which men like Thurman Arnold

and Kenneth Burke have discussed with great acuteness. No one supposes that employers' associations and Walter Lippmann use abstractions as they do because of defective education. And unfortunately the ones who use language most to hide meaning, the ones least easy to impose the semantic discipline on, are the non-existent fascists. And if intellectuals were to follow Stuart Chase's advice, it is probable that our bright-eyed young semanticist might get very short shrift from these ghosts and goblins and figments of the imagination, "a decade or more hence."

OBED BROOKS.

Biography of Business

A HISTORY OF THE BUSINESSMAN, by Miriam Beard. The Macmillan Co. \$5.

DESPITE the title, despite the publisher's talk about "the biography of a type," this is essentially a history of business. In her preface Miss Beard suggests that the businessman of 1938 has much in common with the businessman of 1000 B.C. or 1300 A.D., but fortunately she does not often permit this idea to get in her way. Her theme is necessarily what businessmen have done. Her theme is business, not a "type."

The book begins with the traders of ancient Greece and the traders and bankers of Rome. A third of it is devoted to the medieval cities, to the rise of the merchants in the Middle Ages, the growth of such commercial centers as Lübeck, Venice, and Florence, the role of business in stimulating the renaissance, and the eventual decline of the oligarchs. A good-sized section is given over to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the remainder deals with the more familiar subject of the rise of industrialism.

It is worth emphasizing that half of the volume concerns the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, for it is in dealing with these periods that Miss Beard most clearly reveals her merits. Out of research of a very impressive kind she has constructed a detailed account of commerce, manufacturing, and finance before the industrial revolution. The chapter that contrasts the reality of life in Florence in the fourteenth century with Ruskin's conception of it is a peculiarly brilliant achievement, but the chapters on Holland are almost as illuminating.

As description, then, the book is, for the most part, excellent, but it fails as interpretation. The kind of psychological interpretation that Miss Beard occasionally offers is almost valueless, and with the actual dynamics of change she is rarely concerned. Like her distinguished father, she seems to delight in a kind of obscurantism. She apparently shudders at the very idea that there may be laws of change, and it is no wonder that, although the book would be inconceivable without the



Ruth Glkew

FRIDAY, JANUARY 28th
Promptly at 7:30 p. m.

Opening Session
MODEL YOUTH LEGISLATURE
Great Hall C.C.N.Y. 139th St., Convent Ave.

Speakers:
MRS. F. D. ROOSEVELT
MR. AUBREY WILLIAMS

SAT. EVE., JANUARY 29
DANCE PYTHIAN TEMPLE
135 W. 70th St., N. Y. C.

Admission 60c.

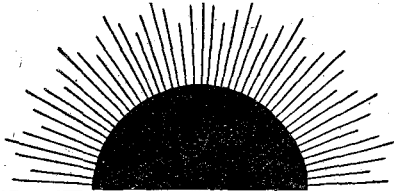
ORIGINAL CAST PINS & NEEDLES HIT NUMBERS

For Information and Tickets: AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS
N.Y.C. COUNCIL • Room 613—105 W. 40th Street, N. Y. C.

FOR REAL FRENCH COOKING
dine at

RESTAURANT de la TOUR EIFFEL
256 West 52nd St., New York City
Real French dishes
Filet Mignon, Civet de Lapin, Steak
Minute, Escargots de Bourgogne
Our regular dinner at 75c includes a glass
of wine or special cocktail at no extra charge

EAT AT
THE CHINESE PAGODA
RESTAURANT
*famous for its delicious though
inexpensive Chinese dishes*
49 East 10th Street, New York



**SUNUP TO
SUNDOWN**

By Francis Edwards Faragoh
with FLORENCE McGEE, PERCY KILBRIDE
WALTER GREAZA
STAGED BY JOSEPH LOSEY

NEW MASSES BENEFIT
Friday Evening, February 25

Tickets now on sale at New Masses Office,
31 East 27th Street, N. Y. C. CAledonia 5-3076.
55c, 85c, \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75, \$3.30

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronizing advertisers

historical analyses of Marx and the Marxists, most of Miss Beard's scattering references to Marx are unfriendly.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find the book ending in a fog of phrases. The last chapter begins with an excellent analysis of fascism: Miss Beard has no doubt that fascism is a device to preserve capitalism, and she sees that it will fail. But she goes on talking about the future of the businessman as if it were likely to stretch into infinity.

It is not enough to say of this book, as one can say of so many, that it would be better if it were based on a Marxist analysis. One has to go further and point out that Miss Beard's frequent reliance on Marxist methods simply cries out for consistency. Often one feels, of an excellent piece of research, that it would make a first-rate book if the author had known the right questions to ask, but Miss Beard appears to have known the right questions and simply refused to ask them. That the book has great value, and especially for Marxists, ought to be clearly said, but it nevertheless leaves us with a sense that we have been thwarted, for what Miss Beard has done is so much less than she had the opportunity to do.

GRANVILLE HICKS.

Wage Theories and Fascism

NEW FASHIONS IN WAGE THEORY, by
Jürgen Kuczynski. International Publishers.
\$1.50.

BY their wage theories ye shall know them. Leo Wolman, formerly chief of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' research department, has come out with a new and convenient theory for the benefit of big business. In a paper read before the American Economic Association last month, he stated that labor costs must be reduced, but "the high-wage doctrine seems more tenacious than ever."

Wages are too high and the trade unions are to blame, in the opinion of this former labor-sympathizer. Following his services to automobile manufacturers when chairman of the Automobile Labor Board in 1934, Mr. Wolman, according to reliable sources of information, acquired a profitable amount of stock in some automobile corporations. Now, as an economist with a wage-cutting theory, he is useful to his fellow-stockholders.

It will be news to many post-war liberals in the United States to learn from Jürgen Kuczynski's latest volume that John Maynard Keynes, British economist, has also adopted a wage theory to fit the desires of employers. As Kuczynski points out, Keynes started as a liberal and gained world fame by his economic analysis of the world war settlement. Now he has become "what we may call an opportunist theoretician supplying with a semblance of a theory the anarchic attempts of the ruling class to hold together a decaying economic society."

WHO RULES AMERICA?

Families? Robber Barons?

Corporations?

*What are Holding Companies
and for whom?*

*Why is Ford's High-wage
Claim False?*

For the answer to these and
many other questions

READ

RULERS OF AMERICA

by

ANNA ROCHESTER

Now at Reduced Price

COMING

Earl Browder's New Book
"THE PEOPLE'S FRONT"
Out February 22nd

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION. Edited by
Stalin and others..... \$1.25

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE
UNITED STATES, by Marx
and Engels..... \$2.50

THE RUSSIAN REVOLU-
TION, by V. I. Lenin and
J. Stalin..... \$2.00

WORKERS BOOKSHOP

50 EAST 13th STREET

and

Workers Library Publishers

Box 148, Station D, New York City

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronizing advertisers

These are bitter words to describe a man long known to the English-speaking world as a liberal economist. But Kuczynski is too good a statistician not to prove his point conclusively. And his point is that Keynes holds a theory which may easily form the basis of a general fascist theory of wages and employment. Indeed the German Nazi paper, the *Deutsche Volkswirt*, has already hailed Keynes's ideas as representing "the theoretical explanation and justification of national socialist economy." In no country outside England have the new theories of Mr. Keynes been quoted as often as in Germany.

Briefly stated, the Keynes theory contends that an increase in employment can take place only when accompanied by a decline in the rate of real wages. A decline in employment, on the other hand, is usually accompanied by an increase in real wages; higher real wages bring periods of unemployment. A boom can be maintained only by keeping up the faith of the employers in a high marginal efficiency of capital—in other words, by expectation of greater profits.

With notable simplicity and clarity, Kuczynski shows that this theory does not hold water. It is contrary to facts, as proved by detailed statistics in Germany and in the United States. The truth is, as wage earners know by experience, money wages, real wages, and employment all increase at the same time.

Yet employers in Germany, Great Britain, and now in the United States can find formerly liberal economists to dress up resistance to wage increases with appropriate wage theories. The chief importance of such theories is political; they represent a definitely fascist trend.

Anti-fascist economists and writers cannot afford to miss this brilliant little volume of Kuczynski's. He knows what he is writing about. As a labor statistician he headed the American Federation of Labor's research department until a few years ago when he resigned to study European labor conditions at first hand. The present volume is a companion to his recently published *Labor Conditions in Western Europe*.

While the first part of *New Fashions in Wage Theory* deals with the Keynes theory and other wage theories tending in the same fascist direction, the latter part sets forth five timely statistical essays. These represent studies of real wages in British textile factories; the increase in fatal mining accidents in the United States, because of intensity of work; unproductivity in the United States and a first attempt to measure it; death rates and unemployment; and statistical problems of measuring cost of living changes.

Most original of these is the discussion of unproductivity in the United States. For the first time a statistician has undertaken such a scientific measurement, including unemployment, increases in the number of non-productive salaried employees, and other factors going to make up a definition of unproductivity. The resulting index shows an increase in unproductivity from 93 in 1903 to 165 in 1933.

The REAL STORY

About the Communist Party In the Trade Unions

A SPECTRE is haunting Big Business!

It is the spectre of triumphant unionism! The brilliant march of the C.I.O. has brought the economic royalists and all their allies to the battlements. . . . The medium of attack is the cry of "Communism." . . . Hague, of Jersey City, and the Trotskyite, Benjamin Stolberg, have been the latest to loose their artillery against the C.I.O., on the charge that it is dominated by the Communist Party.

Beginning Saturday, January 29, the Daily Worker will publish a series of articles on the policy of the Communist Party in the trade unions. Written by Alan Max, Labor Editor of the Daily Worker, it will be one of the most important contributions to a fuller understanding of what the Communists are trying to accomplish for the American worker. It will rip the mask from those who are crying "Communism" to prevent the triumph of progressive unionism.

Here you will find the authoritative answers to such questions as: . . . Are the Communists against C.I.O.-A. F. of L. unity? . . . Do the Communists advocate "unauthorized strikes"? . . . What are the Communist aims in the trade union movement?

Starting January 29th

DAILY WORKER

AMERICA'S MOST EXCITING NEWSPAPER

SPECIAL OFFER!
8 Weeks for \$1

For a limited period, you can secure an 8-week subscription to the Daily Worker for only \$1.00. Manhattan and Bronx readers, wishing the paper mailed to their homes, can secure a 6-week subscription for \$1.00.

(NM-5)
DAILY WORKER,
50 East 13th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Enclosed find \$1.00 for
8 weeks of the Daily Worker ()
6 weeks of the Daily Worker ()

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronizing advertisers



New Masses Concert

Orson Welles will present each number

Radio Music

MARC BLITZSTEIN'S *I've Got the Tune*. Entire Company. Mr. Blitzstein at the piano.

Revue Music

HAROLD J. ROME'S *Geneva*, a Satirical Ballet, and *Death in the Afternoon*. Mr. Rome at the piano.

Chorus Music

LEHMAN ENGEL'S music from *Murder in the Cathedral* and *Within the Gates*.

VIRGIL THOMSON'S *Christmas Eve Music*

Lehman Engel Singers. Mr. Engel and Mr. Thomson conducting.

Opera for Children

Solos from AARON COPLAND'S *Second Hurricane*

Vivian Bloch, Arthur Anderson, and others. Mr. Copland at the piano.

Choral Dance Music

CARLOS CHAVEZ'S *Tierra Mojada*

Anna Sokolow and the Lehman Engel Singers. Mr. Engel conducting.

Theater Music

By KURT WEILL, HANNS EISLER.

Mordecai Bauman, baritone. Mr. Blitzstein at the piano.

Swing Music

COUNT BASIE AND HIS FAMOUS SWING BAND.

Billie Holliday and James Rushing, vocalists.

Opera Music

Excerpts from PAUL BOWLES'S *Denmark Vesey*. Libretto by Charles Henri Ford. Mr. Bowles at the piano.

Music for the Dance

WALLINGFORD RIEGGER'S *Finale* from the *New Dance* arranged for two pianos. Paul Creston and Edwin Gerschefski at the pianos.

ALEX NORTH'S *Dance Prelude*. Anna Sokolow and Group.

Militant Music

EARL ROBINSON AND CHORUS.

Music for the Home

VIRGIL THOMSON'S piano compositions. Mr. Thomson at the piano.

Charles Friedman directing entire production

Program confined to two hours

Sunday Evening, February 6

at 8:45 P. M.

46th STREET THEATRE

226 West Forty-sixth Street, New York City

Tickets on Sale: New Masses, 31 East 27th Street, Workers Bookshop, 50 East 13th Street, Commodore Music Shop, 144 East 42nd Street.

For reservations call Tiba Garlin, CAledonia 5-3076.

All Seats Reserved. 55c, 83c, \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20.

A limited number of good seats are still available

Kuczynski's small but significant book is a definite contribution to the growing library of anti-fascist literature. It must be read, for no brief review can give an adequate summary of its findings. GRACE HUTCHINS.

Marxist Critique of Society's Forces

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY: *A Marxian Quarterly*. Vol. II, No. 1. 30 E. 20 Street, New York City. 35c.

WITH the current issue, *Science and Society* opens the second year of its energetic career. The magazine has grown stronger with every issue. Possessing that resourceful variety and unity which the Marxist perspective confers, it now occupies a significant place in American intellectual life.

Dr. Bernhard J. Stern's article on "The Frustration of Technology," in the current number, indicates that the shelving of inventions and the suppression of time and toil-saving devices can be accounted for in terms of factors operating within the capitalist system and essential to it. Thus, the Bell Telephone Co., according to the Federal Communications Commission, "suppressed 3400 unused patents in order to forestall competition," and such suppression has been upheld by American courts. As one reads Dr. Stern's richly documented and persuasive essay, one sees that the veteran argument for capitalism—that it encourages initiative and promotes progress—an argument often brought in to prove the undesirability of socialism, now reverses its evidence under close examination. It is capitalism which stifles inventions which socialism has every reason to develop. Thus, the new cotton-picking machine which would bring vast unemployment and misery to the South can only mean liberation from drudgery in the U.S.S.R., where the inventors have allowed it to be introduced.

The article by Samuel Bernstein on "Babeuf and Babouvism" also scores, it seems to me, in novelty and effectiveness. The first scholarly article on Babeuf in English, it presents a picture of the fateful interlude between the reign of Robespierre and the advent of Napoleon, a period much neglected or misunderstood by most historians of France. Babeuf emerges from the obscurity of academic neglect, an honest revolutionary who evolved from a naïve equalitarianism to a realistic conviction that only seizure of power by force and the dictatorship of the workers (*sans-culottes*) could solve the problems of his time.

Walter Haenisch, a German scholar working in the Marx-Engels Archives in Moscow, has written a revealing article on "Karl Marx and the Democratic Association of 1847." "Dialectical Materialism and Modern Science," by the distinguished Cambridge historian, J. D. Bernal, is also noteworthy. The chief merit of dialectical materialism, ac-

cording to Bernal, is its stress upon the importance of historical novelty in science. Although much of this article is exceptionable, it contains a number of exploratory insights which are rewarding. William Charvat's amusing article on "American Romanticism and the Depression of 1837" tells how the New England transcendentalists were able to maintain their robust optimism during a period when despair and suffering deepened throughout the country. It appears that the venerable philosophers had made sound investments, that their books and lectures continued to attract the New England public, and that, in short, though this may have had nothing to do with it, they were not doing at all badly in those trying years.

The issue also includes an interesting discussion by Corliss Lamont and John Strachey, as well as communications and reviews by other well-known writers.

THOMAS COBURN.

Brief Reviews

STRANGE WEEK-END, by Mary Borden. Harper Bros. \$2.50.

The main defect of this novel is that Mary Borden hasn't molded her material into a cohesive pattern. Every character, whether it is Jock Barnaby, member of Parliament; his wife, Sarah; his mistress, Mrs. Doventry; or any of the other forty guests who were invited to the Christmas Party at Christian Valliance, is and remains the same loose and unrelated thread of an unfinished design. The unforeseen and abrupt shooting of the devitalized Lord Farmingham, who after losing Sarah's fortune tries to worm a government secret out of Jock, is as insignificant and as farcical as any other incident in the book.

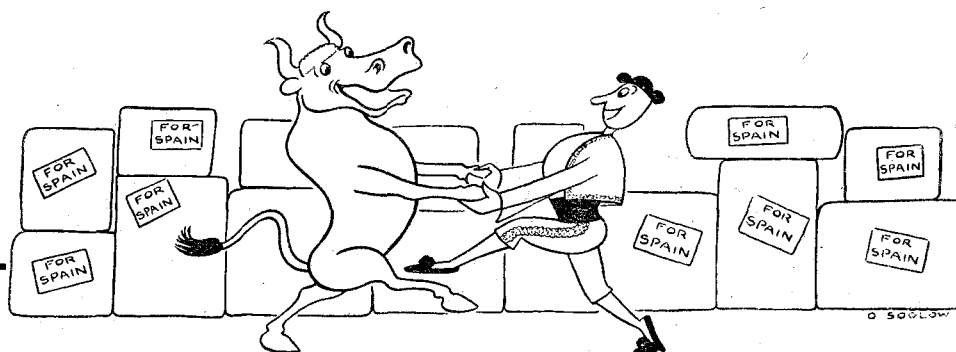
The serious, sympathetic tone of the novel shows that Mary Borden admires much more than she criticizes, so that the unconscious snobbery, which permeates the thoughts of these gaudy and affected aristocrats, cannot be ignored. It is most clearly expressed by Guy Bishop, who said, "The only people who were well off were on the dole, because when you got that far down you couldn't get any further. The bottom, Guy said, that was the place to be. . . ."

G. A.

NEW WRITING, FALL 1937, edited by John Lehmann. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

Compared with other 1937 collections the fall issue of *New Writing* is outstanding. It contains nothing deft and inconsequential. Some of the prose, notably the pieces by Kantorwicz, Tikhonov, Forster, and Spender, is competent reportage of events of world significance: the last Writers' Congress, the war in Spain, the building of Communism in Russia. Too many of the short stories approach the condition of reportage; they present accurately and vividly the life of the disinherited in Europe and America, but the authors have unfortunately not adequately assimilated their material. The larger social implications either are not seen or are neglected. The short stories by Chamson, Kurella, Harvey, and Djavakhishvili, in addition to being accurate and moving representations of a small segment of reality, contain implications so far-reaching as to illuminate the central problems of our day.

The poetry is particularly noteworthy. Here one does not find the idea embellished and reëmbellished until the skeleton is forgotten or concealed. It is poetry in which thought sings passionately. Although all of the poems, save Tabidze's "Festival Song," are excellent, John Cornford's "As Our Might Lessens," Margot Heinemann's "Grieve in a New Way for Old Losses," and Rex Bell's "The Tourist Looks at Spain" deserve particular attention. J. T.



SO GOOD—WE'RE DOING IT AGAIN A BARRICADES BARBECUE

of all places, IN A WAREHOUSE. Eight hundred people jammed the place to dance, hear Leadbelly that singer unique, guitarists, stars of the stage and screen. They played games and had the time of their lives. Mike Gold said it was swell and Art Young says count me in. Frederica Martin, head nurse of the eight American hospitals in Spain, will make this her first appearance. Good, isn't it? Come any time from 4 P. M. to midnight. This time its fifty cents.

January 30th — Warehouse — 227 West 17th Street, New York City

Auspices: The Metropolitan Committees, Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy

FAREWELL DINNER

to the Great German Writer and Gallant Defender of Madrid

LUDWIG RENN (Baron Veith von Golzenau)

FEBRUARY 3rd, 7:30 P. M., Claridge Hotel, 160 W. 44th St.

Chairman: Henry Pratt Fairchild; Speakers: Oswald Garrison Villard, Arthur Garfield Hays,

Paul J. Kern and Wm. J. Schieffelin

Tickets, \$2.00.

Deutsches Volksecho, 20 Vesey Street.

RE. 2-2428

DEBATE

"What Policy
Shall the United States Adopt
towards
Japan's Invasion of China?"

Prof. JOHN L. CHILDS vs. GEORGE SOULE
Teachers College (Collective Action) Editor 'New Republic' (Neutrality)

Chairman: DR. CORLISS LAMONT

THURS. HOTEL CENTER
Feb. 3 108 W. 43rd St., N. Y.
Auspices: AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION
8:30 P. M. Tickets at Bookshop, 50 E. 13th St.
Admission 40c or call or write A. F. S. U., 60 E. 12th St.—ALgonquin 4-2378

LINCOLN BIRTHDAY PARTY

SUN. FEB. 13 at 8:30
Belasco Theatre, 44th St.
East of Broadway

LILLIAN HELLMAN
Author of "The Children's Hour,"
Screen Adaptation "Dead End,"
Recently returned from Spain.

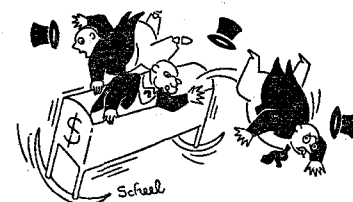
Captain HANS AMLIE
Former Commanding Officer "Lincoln-
Washington Battalion."

MILLY BENNETT
Former Chief of Press Bureau
Loyalist Ministry of State
Tickets: 50c, 75c, \$1.00, \$1.50
at all Workers' Bookshops & Agencies.

Auspices:
FRIENDS OF LINCOLN BRIGADE
125 W. 45th St., N. Y. C. LO 3-6215

WATCH THE
NEW MASSES
FOR MORE
SURPRISE
SPEAKERS!

NEW MASSES BENEFIT Wednesday, February 9th



Marc Blitzstein's Brilliant Operetta

"The Cradle Will Rock"

Tickets: 83c, \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20

Call New Masses Office, 31 E. 27th Street
CAledonia 5-3076

JUST A MINUTE
is all it takes to
tell our advertisers
you saw their ad in
NEW MASSES

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronizing advertisers

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

The Federal Theatre Treats Slum-Clearance

THE Federal Theatre's superb production of . . . *one-third of a nation* . . . reaches a new high in the Living Newspaper series. It gains by comparison with its successful predecessors—a difficult test to survive. Combining the ample documentation of *Triple A Plowed Under* and the brilliant staging of *Power*, Arthur Arent's incisive dramatic exposition of the housing problem makes a distinct contribution by linking an immediate social question to its historical sources; thereby adding a new and necessary dimension to the Living Newspaper. Not only is dramatic comprehension heightened by the depiction of two centuries of history, but also the audience's capacity to discriminate between the futile remedial efforts of the past and the genuine solutions which that experience suggests. The Living Newspaper had already dramatized the headlines; it can now see beyond them.

The tenement-house set, a daring design by Howard Bay, is a permanent background for the historical drama. On its creaky landings and shabby fire-"escapes," in its cubby-hole rooms and polluted basement, generations of trapped human beings enact their tragic lives. It towers over the stage, a hideous representation of the greed motive in capitalist society. The fire in the opening scene (1924) will per-

haps destroy the structure, but it will devour human victims as well. And the ensuing "investigation" only serves to hush up the rotten dereliction. The fire scene is repeated at the end of the play. In between is portrayed an amazing record of graft, corruption, hypocrisy, cruelty, and downright degeneracy.

"Back into History!" cries the Loudspeaker at the opening of the third scene. "The mad scramble for land begins . . . Who owned it first? How did they get it? Who bought it? And above all, *who made the profit?*" Trinity Church got the first and juiciest slice from Lord Cornbury, who got it from Queene Anne, who got it, one supposes, from God. But the church parceled it out to parishioners like William Rhineland. Prices skyrocketed. Astor got in on the ground floor. So did Wendell, Goelet, and those other profiteers whom Gustavus Myers has described in his *History of the Great American Fortunes*. All they had to do, with the benign endorsement of Trinity, was to sit tight and wait for the population to grow. Every corner of the carpet became priceless. The loot was in direct proportion to human suffering.

Clarence R. Chase, who does a fine job as the average citizen, Buttonkooper, is justifiably shocked when he is let in on these historical scenes. He is furnished with a guide and taken through the housing set-up of the forties, the sixties, and so on. He sees plenty: cholera, plague, malnutrition, the blood and filth of the slums. Buttonkooper wants an explanation. Why did they put up with this? What was done about it? There were, to be sure, investigating commissions, but they didn't always tell the truth. And when they did, they were seldom backed up by the courts. Always there were legal loopholes of one kind or another. The dramatic scenes in the toiletless single rooms where whole families lived still went on.

But it would be a mistake to give the impression that all is gloom and despondency on the Federal Theatre's stage. As the action unfolds, the protests of the tenants mount. One scene in a Harlem hotbox is particularly striking. Three Negroes take eight-hour shifts on the same cot, for which they pay triple rent. One young fellow is sick, but his fatigued cotenant must either go sleepless or kick his friend out. Their expression of solidarity at the end, their decision to cooperate with other

tenants in a strike is a glorious reversal of that train of abuses which has been making a nightmare of their lives.

Tenants' unions are formed; there are marches on Albany; pressure is exerted on the legislature. And the need is finally recognized by the Roosevelt administration. But in Congress, Senator Wagner's housing bill is whittled down by reactionaries, and in a fitting commentary, the Loudspeaker points out that the war appropriations are greater than the appropriations for this tremendous national need.

Merely to have stated the case for low-housing and slum-clearance projects so successfully would have been a welcome achievement. The Federal Theatre has combined with this statement some healthy laughs. We pity the victims of the tenement, but we also learn that their oppressor was a fraud whom we have allowed to get by through our own inertia. Buttonkooper, who after all represents the audience, decides at the end that things will not go on in the old way if only we get together to do something about them.

The punch of the play, it seems to me, lies not so much in our accumulated indignation at the landlords as in our indignation at our own easy tolerance. When we find Buttonkooper's naïveté ridiculous, we are really, perhaps for the first time, seeing how absurd was our compliance to a situation which we inherited from the corporation of Trinity Church. And as Buttonkooper learns that those pious blusterers of Knickerbocker days were pulling the wool over the eyes of the poor suckers who were their contemporaries, he vows that he won't go

Recently Recommended Plays

The Shoemaker's Holiday (National, N. Y.). Orson Welles's inspired staging of Dekker's uproarious farce, with its rich, bawdy humor and its gusto for a democratic, warless life. Put this on your "must" list. Alternates with *Julius Caesar*.

The Cradle Will Rock (Windsor, N. Y.). Marc Blitzstein's satiric operetta, a dynamic, pungent work which brings music to grips with reality.

The Good Soldier Schweik (Artef, N. Y.). A robust anti-war satire which provides hilarious entertainment and is enhanced by some of the finest acting to be met with in the theater today.

A Doll's House (Morosco, N. Y.). Ibsen's drama of frustrated womanhood in a charming revival.

Pins and Needles (Labor Stage, N. Y.). This I.L.G.W.U. production is the brightest, most sparkling revue in many a season. Social significance at its entertaining best.

Of Mice and Men (Music Box, N. Y.). John Steinbeck's warm novel of friendship between workers expertly dramatized and extremely well acted.

Julius Caesar (National, N. Y.). Orson Welles's production of the Shakespearean play in modern clothes and with fascist overtones is one of the highlights of the current season.

Recently Recommended Movies

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Walt Disney's first full-length film makes delightful entertainment for children and adults alike.

The River. A government documentary on land erosion, with some thrilling sequences and a telling message.

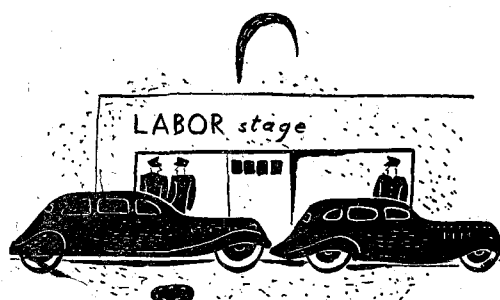
Boy of the Streets. A more sincere and convincing film of the slums than any of its predecessors, it makes a plea for better housing as a means of obviating crime.

True Confession. Insane comedy mixed with brilliant satire that is at all times amusing.

Peter the First. A magnificent and gusty historical film of Russian life as it was when Peter "opened the window to Europe," superbly acted and directed. Easily ranks among the very best of historical pictures.

China Strikes Back. A vivid picture of the Chinese people's defense against the Japanese invasion with excellent shots of life in the Eighth Route Army and of its generals.

Heart of Spain. A documentary of medical aid to Spain, which has rightly been called "pictorial dynamite."



Charles Martin

through the humiliating experience himself. Once he has learned that he has to get together with the fellow next door, he has started on the highway to a better life. That the Living Newspaper has pointed this lesson with careful evidence and witty candor the reader will discover for himself when he goes to see ... one-third of a nation.... It's one of the few "musts" of the year.

WALTER RALSTON.

An Anti-Fascist Newsreel

NO issue of the March of Time has excited as much comment as the current release, *Inside Nazi Germany—1938*. New York's Newsreel Theater has had to give extra performances to accommodate its overflow audiences, while a police detail was stationed outside to take care of "any possible disturbances." Chicago played benevolent publicity agent (even Goldwyn couldn't have done better) by banning the film, and then reversing the ban. Warner Bros. contributed to the excitement by prohibiting its showing at their three hundred theaters without any explanation. Later, however, Harry Warner issued a statement to the effect that his company felt that the March of Time issue was essentially pro-Nazi and that "we do not intend to make our screens a medium for the dissemination of propaganda for Germany, no matter how thinly veiled that purpose may be." Louis de Rochemont, of the March of Time office, countered this by announcing that his office had received protests from the German consuls in San Francisco and Buffalo.

Is the film anti-Nazi? As far as the general movie-going public is concerned, it is definitely anti-Nazi. There may be some shots that local Nazis will delight in, but the overall effect of the film, the definite tone of the commentary, and the obvious audience reaction proves that Mr. Harry Warner is wrong.

Most of the footage in the current issue of the March of Time was taken by Julien Bryan. It is unimportant that the film is "uncensored." And there is nothing sensational about the footage. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Bryan took what he could with the full approval of Goebbels and his propaganda department. This of course weakened the film as a piece of militant anti-fascist propaganda. But obviously the March of Time was not concerned with turning out anti-fascist propaganda. Personally I am grateful for a film that will at least make millions of people question the news from Nazi Germany. The Nazi storm-trooper coming to collect food from a housewife, his "Heil Hitler" and her half-hearted reply hit a comic highlight.

The high point in the film is the sequence in which the natives of Southbury, Conn., reenact their famous meeting in the town hall, at which they prevented the Nazis from setting up a propaganda camp. When you

Has life been unusually dull lately?
Do you want to meet some swell people?
Are you looking for some gay fun?
Then fill this ...

R

Music by
NAT BRUSIOFF Broadcasting Orch.
and RALPH HAYES Swing Demons
Continuous Dancing—9 p. m. to 4 a. m.

- ★ "Smiling" JERRY BAKER from the Wheaties program!
- ★ EDDIE LAMBERT and CO.—the famous piano duo!
- ★ FORD, MARSHAL & JEANETTE—Cotton Club Stars!
- ★ RUTH BARR—the famous Radio Songstress!
- ★ MAYFAIR ENSEMBLE—the Radio Dance Eight!
- ★ HENNY YOUNGMAN, Master of Ceremonies

4TH ANNUAL and ENTERTAINMENT of the BALL

RETAIL DRUG STORE EMPLOYEES UNION

Local Number 1199—C. I. O.

250 West 57th Street COLUMBUS 5-0207

Formerly known as the
Pharmacists Union of Greater New York

SATURDAY, FEB. 5th
HOTEL RIVERSIDE PLAZA
253 WEST 73rd STREET, NEW YORK
ADMISSION \$1.00

SOLD OUT FOR THE ENTIRE MONTH OF JANUARY

Tickets Now on Sale for February and March

PINS and NEEDLES

New York's Hit Musical Revue with I.L.G.W.U. Players

LABOR STAGE • PRICES: Eves. 55c to \$2.75—Mats. 55c to \$2.20
39th St. and 6th Ave., Tel. BRyant 6-1163 • Evenings at 8:40—Mats. Wed. and Sat. at 2:41

THE
GROUP
THEATRE
presents

'A good straightforward play... thrilling
to listen to.'—BENCHLEY, *New Yorker*.

GOLDEN BOY

By CLIFFORD ODETS

"Odets has written what is by far his
best play."—FLEXNER, *New Masses*.

BELASCO THEA. 44 St., E. of B'way. Eves. 8:40
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40. 50c to \$2.00

THE CRADLE WILL ROCK

Sam. H. Grisman
presents
A MERCURY
THEATRE
PRODUCTION
by MARC BLITZSTEIN

WINDSOR THEA. 48th St. E. of B'way. BR. 9-0178
Evenings, 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45
SEATS, 50c to \$2 (plus tax) ALL PERFS.

SI-LAN CHEN

(Sylvia Chen)
MEDICAL AID FOR CHINA
SUNDAY EVENING, JAN. 30th at 8:45
WINDSOR THEATRE (formerly 48th St.)
48th St. E. of 7th Ave. BRy. 9-0178
Tickets 83c, \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, on Sale at Box Office
or American Friends of the Chinese People, 163 West 23rd.
Reservations CHelsea 3-7674

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronizing advertisers

"A PERFECT WORK OF ART"

—Brooks Atkinson, *Times*

SAM H. HARRIS presents

OF MICE and MEN

A New Play by JOHN STEINBECK
Directed by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN

MUSIC BOX 45th St., W. of B'way.
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40.

MERCURY REPERTORY NOW AT NATIONAL "CAESAR"—"SHOEMAKER"

"You can't lose whichever one you hit."
—Robert Benchley, *New Yorker*
See Daily Papers for Schedule
NATIONAL THEATRE, 41st St., W. of B'way. PE. 6-8220
Eves. 8:50; Matinees Wed., Thurs. and Sat. at 2:50

Season's First New Theatre Night!
SUNDAY, JAN. 30-MAT. and E. 35c-\$1.65

"PLANT IN THE SUN" By BEN BENGAL
One-Acters ever staged.—*New Republic*.
"HELLO FRANCO" By THEODORE KAGHAN
Drama of the Lincoln Brigade
Extra: MORRIS CARNOVSKY in a NEW MONOLOGUE
MERCURY THEATRE, 41st St. E. of B'way
Tickets at New Theatre League, 132 W. 43rd St. CH. 4-8198.

AMERICAN ARTISTS SCHOOL

ENROLL NOW FOR NEW TERM STARTING FEB. 7

DAY, EVENING AND WEEK-END CLASSES IN DRAWING, PAINTING, COMPOSITION, PORTRAIT, SCULPTURE, STONE AND WOOD CARVING, WATER COLOR, GRAPHIC ARTS, SOCIAL SATIRE AND PHOTOGRAPHY FOR BEGINNERS, ADVANCED STUDENTS, CHILDREN, TUITION: \$5 A MONTH AND UP. CATALOG ON REQUEST.

131 W. 14th STREET, N. Y. C. CH. 3-9621.

THE SOVIET UNION, 1938

A Course of Twelve Lectures
sponsored by

THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE, INC.

Thursday, 8:20-10:00 P. M.

February 3 through April 21, 1938

This course attempts to portray the achievements, analyze the policies, and formulate the problems of the Soviet Union, 1938. It covers historical factors, government economy, defense, social welfare, education, foreign relations and the individual.

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
66 West 12th Street New York City

Course \$10.00 — Single Lecture \$1.00

All tickets available at

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

NEW THEATRE SCHOOL

A NON-COMMERCIAL, PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATION
DAY AND EVENING STUDIOS IN ACTING
DIRECTING, PLAYWRITING, DESIGNING

NEW! A Training Course for Counselors CAMP DRAMATICS

Spring Term Begins Feb. 21 — Reg. Jan. 24-Feb. 14
132 W. 43rd St., N. Y. C. Request Catalog P CHick. 4-8198

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

Offers Exciting Evening Courses in:

Art, Current Events, Economics, Law, Literature, Music, Philosophy, Photography, Psychology, Public Speaking, Theatre.

\$10 PER TERM (15 LECTURES)

Term Begins February 7

306 West 88th Street, N. Y. C. — Schuyler 4-3232
WRITE OR CALL FOR DESCRIPTIVE BULLETIN

COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE

SOUTHERN RESIDENT LABOR SCHOOL
Mena, Arkansas

CLAUDE WILLIAMS, Director

Courses include: Union Methods, Economics, Labor History, Journalism, Currents Events, Public Speaking, etc.

SPRING TERM OPENS APRIL 11th

For information, write Donald G. Kobler, Secretary

EAT AT SHERIDAN SANDWICH SHOPPE

Operated by

Orders Taken by Phone

CLIFF & NAT

GR 5-9680

114 University Place (Cor. 18th Street)

Multigraphing—

Letters reproduced exactly like typewriting, any quantity. Also mimeographing, printing and mailing. Quality at low prices.

MAILERS ADVERTISING SERVICE

121 West 42nd Street, N. Y. C. BRyant 9-5053

hear the elderly New England lady say that she comes from revolutionary stock and that she has no quarrel with the people of Germany, but that she will resist any invasion by Nazis whose only idea was to crush all liberty, you certainly feel like cheering. And the audience does.

If Harry M. Warner is sincere in his desire to keep his screens free from Nazi propaganda, releasing the ban which prohibits from showing *Inside Nazi Germany—1938* is a good way to begin.

PETER ELLIS.

Social Intentions and Good Paintings

CONTEMPORARY art must find a suitable form for social content: this is not in dispute among vanguard artists, for obviously there are no subjects of vital interest not related to the age's complex tempo. But how shall social themes—housing, malnutrition, propagation of the species, war, corrupt judiciaries, racial and religious prejudices, the general decay and waste of capitalism—be stated in æsthetic expressions harmonious with their profound meanings? That is the artist's problem today.

The paintings of Tschachbasov at the A.C.A. Gallery in New York illustrate the point. Here is an artist who came to the social muse via abstractionism. Such a history might have confirmed him in aloofness. On the contrary, Tschachbasov has sought to come to grips with form and content, pointing out that a social theme is not enough to make a good social painting unless the painting itself is good, that impeccable social intentions alone do not make a good picture, the picture must be good in terms of its pictorial statement; moreover no one style suffices to express all social ideas.

In Tschachbasov's work, the validity of the concept is demonstrated. Painting is primarily a two-dimensional convention, concerned with color and finding its greatest play in paint quality and surface, as is shown in murals and stained glass. Tschachbasov's easel paintings reveal the same largeness of scale; he is perhaps reaching out for a wall, where the painter must always obey a rigid pictorial rule. Such large canvases as *Little Red Schoolhouse*, *Refugees*, *Stork Derby* express the perennial hunger of the artist for a more architectural expression than the isolated easel picture. But in all the canvases, large or small, there is a primary care for the pictorial convention, for the occupation of a two-dimensional area and for the treatment of this area in terms of the agreed convention.

Another aspect of Tschachbasov's search for harmony of form and content has to do with style, that is, method of painting. The portrait of Prime Minister Chamberlain, 10 Downing Street, deriving from the cubist tradition, makes the unreality of its plastic invention equivalent to the unreality of the character portrayed, the typical, hypocritical, double-dealing, upper-class Englishman. Picasso pushed

CHESTERS' ZUNBARG



A Delightful Hideaway in the Mountains
Lincoln, Washington & The Chesters
Invite you to celebrate 2 timely birthdays in the fine manner to which one is accustomed at the Zunbarg. Diversion includes inviting ice-skating pond, musicals, open fireplaces, modern library, genial company, tempting vittels, cosy quarters. Low Rates. MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW. Write, or telephone Fallsburg 59. WOODBOURNE, NEW YORK

OPEN ALL YEAR

CAMP NITGEDAIGET

BEACON, N. Y.

Beacon 731

SPORTS—GOOD FOOD—DANCING
Hotel Accommodations

\$17

Per Week

\$3

Per Day

City Offices: EStabrook 8-1400

When in Lakewood Be Sure to Visit Your Comrades
At Their Rendezvous

THE ROYALE

708 Princeton Ave.
Lakewood, N. J.

Telephone:
Lakewood 1146

Our New Annex Assures You of
Added Social and Sport Facilities

SONIA GELBAUM

ANNA BROUDE

Enjoy a true comradely atmosphere at

RAVEN LODGE

416 Third Street

Tel.: Lakewood 922

Lakewood, N. J. City Information Sk. 4-1596

Special rates to NEW MASSES Readers

CELIA BOOBAR

I. GOLD

Lakewood Modern School

115 Cary Street

Lakewood, N. J.

A progressive school for children
of kindergarten and elementary age

WRITE JAMES H. DICK

Tel.: LKWD 1031

(Summer camp at Carmel, N. Y.)

VITA-RAY HOUSE

THE ONLY VEGETARIAN HOTEL

Near LAKEWOOD, NEW JERSEY

Tel. 154 M. 1, Lakewood—P. O. Box 233

CITY INFORMATION:

BESTFOOD RESTAURANT

V. Toflowsky

225 West 36th Street

CHickering 4-8547

ALL YEAR RESORT

FOREST HOUSE

AMERICA'S
SWITZERLAND

most picturesque spot in Putnam County. Excellent Cuisine. Miles of lake. 50 miles from N. Y. Special LOW rates for weekly guests. EACH ROOM FACES LAKE. Skating on our own beautiful lake. Dance Orchestra.

LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.

Mahopac, 688 or 977

Associated Optometrists

247 WEST 34th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

Medallion 3-3242

Eyes examined—Glasses fitted



PAUL CROSBIE INSURANCE

Since 1908

Frequent Savings

135 WILLIAM STREET

BEckman 3-5262

SAXON

Printing Co., Inc.
73 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y.



Specialists in
**TRADE UNION and
ORGANIZATION PRINTING**

Phone us for an estimate on your next printing job
ALgonquin 4-0398

CLASSIFIED ADS 40c a line

6 words in a line 3 lines minimum

VACATION CAMP RESORTS

CAMP FOLLOWERS OF THE TRAIL
Located at Westchester Park Reservations. Ideal place for vacation and week-ending. Steamheated house. Wholesome food. \$13 per week. By train, N. Y. Central to Peekskill. Fare, 75c. Write: Buchanan, New York. Phone: Peekskill 2879.

MILLARD'S LODGE

Famous for its Cuisine and Homelike Atmosphere
Moderate Rates
423 7th St., between Madison and Forest Avenue
LAKEWOOD, N. J. Phone: Lakewood 394-W
A COZY RETREAT IN THE PINES

FURNISHED ROOMS (Brooklyn)

MANHATTAN BEACH HOTEL
37 Minutes from Times Square
Live in this modern fire-proof hotel
away from city noise. Singles, \$5.50 weekly up.
SHeepshead 3-3000.

LANGUAGES

Round-Table Conversation Groups
with Alert, Native Instructors
FRENCH. Wednesdays — 6 P.M.
SPANISH. Thursdays — 6 P.M.
Private Instruction All Languages
9 a.m. to 9 p.m.
LANGUAGE SERVICE CENTER
Lewis Bertrand, Director
507 Fifth Avenue (42nd St.) MU. 2-4221.

INTERIOR DESIGNERS

MODERN INTERIORS FOR PROGRESSIVES. Offices, Apartments, Shops planned and executed on a budget. Featuring specially designed upholstered easy chair. \$25.75. DESIGN-FOR-USE, 149 E. 34th St., hours, 12-2 and 5-8, or call VAnderbilt 3-4658 for appointment.

PLAY TABLE TENNIS

PLAY TABLE TENNIS (Ping-Pong) at the Broadway Table Tennis Court, 1721 Broadway, bet. 54th 55th Sts., N. Y. One flight up. Expert instruction. Open from noon until 1 A. M. Tel.: CO. 5-9088.

PIANO TUNING

PIANO TUNING, regulating and repairing. Tone restoring and voicing. Excellent work. Ralph J. Appleton, 247 West 34th Street. Tel.: LOnacre 5-5843.

RUSSIAN ART

PEASANT HANDICRAFT FROM U.S.S.R. Large selection of blouses, linen, shawls, novelties. OUR ONLY STORE. Russian Art Shop, Inc., 9 W. 42nd St., N. Y. C.

CIRCULATING LIBRARY

WORKERS BOOKSHOP Circulating Library, 50 E. 13th Street, now fully restocked and reorganized. (Do you like our new balcony?) Join today. Nominal fees.

ARMY AND NAVY

LEATHER & SHEEPLINED wind breakers, breeches, boots, suede jackets, corduroy suits, hiking equipment. Special rates to readers.

HUDSON ARMY & NAVY STORE
105 Third Avenue Corner 13th Street New York

UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY

MEN AND WOMEN interested in earning good salary selling New Masses. See George Clay, District Distributors, 832 Broadway, 3rd floor.

VOLUNTEERS

VOLUNTEER clerical workers to help in New Masses circulation campaign. Call at 31 East 27th Street, Room 42.

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronizing advertisers

the psychological motif to its extreme limit in the *Seated Woman* of 1927. In this canvas, Tschacbasov demonstrates how the lessons of older artists may be applied by younger and more progressive men to social criticism. In the recent portrait of Mayor Hague, painted with a sly look at the Impressionists who never dabbled in politics, the tension between style and subject creates a remarkable harmony. A frivolous style does not make the dictator of Jersey City seem trivial; on the contrary, it makes him far more of a monster than a sermon in paint could have done.

The experience of Tschacbasov is significant; for there has been a tendency to assume that if a man painted or wrote or composed in more than one style or mood, he revealed himself as a shallow, superficial creature. On the contrary, what his painting proves is that as subject varies and the artist's emotional response to his theme varies, he must evolve styles as various. For themes we have children in gas masks, civilians taking retreat from an air raid in a Madrid subway, Chinese refugees, Negroes on the chain gang, flood victims, a lynching, overcrowding in slum dwellings, dysgenic breeding because of lack of intelligent birth-control measures, the fascist alliance of Japan and Germany, the economic royalist Henry Ford, and a dozen others with similar social implications. Sometimes the mood is one of bitter, impassioned protest; sometimes it is satirically critical, as in *Easter Sunday*, where all the painter's concern for the lace sleeves of the choir-boys' gowns does not distract the beholder's attention from the absurdity of their gas masks; sometimes it is close to terror and pity. Whatever the theme or the mood, it is obvious that Tschacbasov has made a determined and successful attack on the main problem of the contemporary painter, the fusion of form and content. The very variety of his attack proves that experiment is needed in this field, not dogma. ELIZABETH NOBLE.



Forthcoming Broadcasts

(Times given are Eastern Standard but all programs listed are on coast-to-coast hookups)

Chemistry. Dr. Harrison E. Howe, editor of *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*: "What's New in Chemistry?" Thurs., Jan. 27, 4 p.m., C.B.S. "Madame Curie." The Columbia Workshop presents a dramatization of the famous scientist's life. Sat., Jan. 29, 8 p.m., C.B.S.

"*Second Overture.*" Maxwell Anderson's original play written for radio. Sat., Jan. 29, 9:30 p.m., N.B.C. red.

Modern Age Books. Dramatized reviews of *Men Who Lead Labor*, *Blood of the Conquerors*, *Death Slams the Door*. Sat., Jan. 29, 9:30 p.m., WABC. The following Sat., Feb. 5, at the same time, *You Have Seen Their Faces*, *Old Hell*, and *The Leavenworth Case* will be presented.

Arturo Toscanini. The maestro conducts the N.B.C. symphony orchestra in the music of Rossini, Robert Schumann, Mendelssohn, and Ravel. Sat., Jan. 29, 10 p.m., N.B.C.

Social Diseases. Surgeon General Thomas Parran, Gen. John J. Pershing, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur speak on National Social Hygiene Day program., Wed., Feb. 2, 10:45 p.m., C.B.S.

Town Meeting of the Air. George V. Denny, chairman; speakers. Thurs., Feb. 3, 9:30 p.m., N.B.C. blue.

CLASSIFIED ADS 40c a line

6 words in a line 3 lines minimum

AMPLIFIERS FOR RENT

DANCE MUSIC amplified from latest swing records. Also loudspeakers for all occasions. White Sound Studio, 47 West 86th Street. SCHuyler 4-4449.

SOCIAL DANCE CLASSES

WALTZ, Foxtrot, Tango classes. Men, women, beginners. SOCIAL DANCE GROUP, 94 Fifth Avenue (14th St.) GR. 5-9264. 3-11 P. M. Pallas.

HOSIERY

LISLE — SHEER — FULL FASHIONED — UNION MADE. Sold in quantities at wholesale prices. Eastern Hosiery Mills, 303-5th Avenue, N. Y. C.

"GOINGS-ON"

NEW MASSES EVENTS

SUNDAY, Feb. 6th: New! Exciting! Vital! Hear music by Marc Blitzstein, Aaron Copland, Alex North, Lehman Engel, Virgil Thomson, Harold J. Rome, Count Basie, Paul Bowles, Paul Creston, Edwin Gerschewski, Kurt Weill, Hans Eisler, Wallingford Riegger and Earl Robinson. The event of the season! You mustn't miss it! Choice seats still available.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 9th: "The Cradle Will Rock"—New Masses Benefit Theater Party of Marc Blitzstein's brilliant operetta. Enjoy first rate theater with us. Make your reservations now.

FRIDAY, FEB. 25th: "Sunup to Sundown"—Francis Edwards Faragoh's moving story of children in tobacco fields, with Florence McGee, Walter N. Greaza, and others. Directed by Joseph Losey. All seats reserved.

Call Tiba Garlin, New Masses Office
31 East 27th St. CAL. 5-3076.

BECOME A NEW MASSES BOOSTER!

ANTI FASCIST PROFESSIONALS WPA THEATER Party "Housing," Feb. 9th. Tickets at Workers Bookshop or S. Marvit, Rm. 2306, 220 W. 42 St. WIS. 7-2929.

A PROGRAM OF SOCIAL FILM: "Kuhle Wampe" and "Plow that Broke the Plains." Saturday, Jan. 29th. 7:30 p.m.—9:30 p.m. at New Theatre League, 132 West 43rd Street. Admission: 35 cents.

MERRYMAKERS' DANCE-SOCIALS, every Saturday and Sunday Nite. Ballroom Hotel Imperial, Broadway and 32nd St. Make worth-while contacts. Sub.: 40c.

ROGER N. BALDWIN, speaks on "OUTLOOK FOR LABOR'S RIGHTS" on Tues. Eve., Feb. 1st, at 8:30 P. M., at 2 West 86th Street. Social Hour—Refreshments—Dancing. Admission, 50c.

ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS OF THE WEEK every Sun. night, 8:30 p.m. Workers School, 2nd Floor, 35 East 12th Street. Admission, 20c.

CONCERT AND DANCE for the benefit of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Sat., Jan. 29, 8:30 P.M. at Concert League, 846 7th Ave. Louis Figuero, veteran of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, will discuss "Victory at Teruel."

"The Philosophy and Politics of John Dewey," lecture by A. Landy, Sat. afternoon, Jan. 29, 2:30 p.m. Workers School, 2nd fl., 35 E. 12th St. Adm., 25 cents.

ADVERTISE YOUR NEXT AFFAIR IN
the NEW MASSES under

"GOINGS-ON"

A NEW COLUMN

Devoted to

What's On Around Town!

Parties, Dances, Lectures, Etc.

DEADLINE: FRIDAY, 5 P.M.

RATE: 40 CENTS A LINE

6 WORDS TO A LINE MINIMUM 3 LINES

Please mention NEW MASSES when patronizing advertisers

"I HAVE SPOKEN of the contrasts between black and white which express all the brutal energy of the drama without omissions or reticences. The black of a tuft of hair, of a shred of flesh torn from loins or shoulders, of the point of a lance tinged with blood, of caked blood on a parched lip, blotting with their tragic import the expanse of a naked breast. . . . A child's dead body, a soldier's trousers, the vomiting of a wounded man on the point of falling or the livid belly of an assassin's victim, the shining blade of a sword and the blood-stained place of a mutilated sexual member . . . all these suffice to emphasize the contrast in which there constantly appears the process so dear to all Spanish artists, which Goya, especially in his etchings, uses incessantly without ever fatiguing us, because it is life seized in its flight, the evidence of the extraordinary power possessed by all Spanish artists, and by him most of all." . . .

From Elie Faure's introduction to *The Disasters of the War*.

CARNEGIE LIBRARY

JAN 29 1936

OF PITTSBURGH



CHANGE THE TIME to the present . . . from the invasion of Spain by the French in 1808 to the invasion of Spain by German and Italian fascism in 1936 and Goya's etchings on the horrors of war are as real today as they were when first created.

NOT JUST HORROR PICTURES...

but pictures that evoke a hatred against war and those who breed war. It is a gruesome reminder of fascist barbarism with all its methods of torture and persecution.

NEW MASSES For One YEAR

(REGULARLY \$4.50) . . . PLUS

GOYA'S "The Disasters of the WAR" \$ 5.50*

(\$3.50 for a six months subscription and *The Disasters of the War*)

* This offer good until February 15 Only

(FOR BOTH)

**GOYA'S
"THE DISASTERS
OF THE WAR"**

should be in the possession of every peace-loving person. Here is your chance to own a copy . . . and at the same time get 52 issues of that hard-hitting fighter for peace . . . *The New MASSES* . . . both for \$5.50.

NEW MASSES,
31 East 27th St., New York City.

I am enclosing \$5.50 for a one year subscription to NEW MASSES and a copy of Goya's *The Disasters of the War*.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

Occupation.....